

# **ON THE QUESTION OF KOREA**

SPEECHES OF REPRESENTATIVES  
AT THE 30TH SESSION OF THE  
U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PYONGYANG, KOREA

1976



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## PUBLISHER'S NOTE

For the first time in its history the United Nations at the 30th session adopted a just resolution reflecting the policy for Korea's independent and peaceful reunification put forward by the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung.

The United Nations General Assembly discussed the item on Korea entitled "Creation of favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea", which was co-sponsored by 43 peace-loving countries; it adopted a resolution keynoting the dissolution of the "United Nations Command", the withdrawal of all foreign troops in south Korea under the flag of the United Nations and the replacement of the Korean Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement. This is a great victory for the Korean people and the peace-loving people of the world. They warmly welcome the adoption of this just resolution and demand that this resolution be put into effect without fail. In accordance with this resolution, the United States must dissolve the "United Nations Command" in south Korea without delay, withdraw all its troops and comply with the demand for the replacement of the Korean Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement.

The Korean people express deep gratitude to the peace-loving countries, which at the session of the United Nations General Assembly supported and sympathized with our righteous struggle for the country's independent and peaceful reunification.

This booklet contains the speeches of representatives of various countries to the United Nations and officials concerned, who at the 30th session of the United Nations General Assembly expressed their support and sympathy for the just stand of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the withdrawal of the United States troops from south Korea and the country's independent and peaceful reunification. It also contains the official documents published in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in connection

with the discussion of the Korean question at the session of the United Nations General Assembly, as well as the resolution adopted at the session.

The texts of the speeches of representatives of various countries and officials concerned are reprinted from the provisional verbatim records of the United Nations.

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## LI JONG MOK

**Democratic People's Republic  
of Korea**

*Speech Made on October 21*

Allow me first of all to express my deep thanks to you, Mr. Chairman, and to the representatives of various countries for your active collabora-

tion in enabling the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to participate in this meeting. I should also like to express my deep thanks to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the President of the thirtieth session of the United Nations General Assembly and other United Nations officials for giving us facilities for our work and activities.

May I also express my thanks to the representatives of various friendly countries for their support and their sympathy with our people's cause of the independent and peaceful reunification of the country expressed in their statements during the general debate and in the First Committee at this session of the United Nations General Assembly.

Today the First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly has started its debate on the question of Korea.

We hope that the session of the United Nations General Assembly this year will be a historic one which will contribute not only to withdrawal of the United States troops occupying south Korea and putting an end to the division of Korea but also to terminating the discussion of the question of Korea in the United Nations, which has been dragged on for a quarter of a century.

A great number of Member States of the United Nations have jointly proposed discussion in the United Nations General Assembly this autumn of an item on "Creation of favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea".

The draft resolution on this agenda item proposes the dissolution of the United Nations Command and withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed in south Korea under the flag of the United Nations in order to terminate the foreign interference in the internal affairs of Korea and accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. At the same time it calls upon the real parties to the Armistice Agreement to replace the Korean Armistice Agreement by a peace agreement as a fundamental measure to remove tension, prevent armed conflicts and guarantee a durable peace in Korea. It also urges the north and the south of Korea to observe the principles of the North-South Joint Communiqué and take practical measures to remove military confrontation between the north and the south so as to maintain and consolidate peace in Korea and accelerate the peaceful reunification of Korea.

This draft resolution is the most just proposal and is aimed at accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea by removing the fundamental obstacles to the reunification of Korea; and it is a proposal in the interest of peace for terminating the state of war, a threat to peace and security in Korea, and guaranteeing a durable peace.

This draft resolution not only mirrors the unanimous aspiration and desire of the Korean people and the peace-loving peoples of the world, but also correctly reflects the present situation created in Korea and the requirements of the times, and indicates fundamental means for the practical solution of the question of Korea.

The delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea fully supports this draft resolution and expresses deep thanks to the Governments and peoples of the various friendly countries that have sponsored it.

The key to the solution of the problem of Korea is withdrawal of the United States troops from south Korea. It is an urgent matter, the settlement of which brooks no further delay, to withdraw the United States troops which now are illegally occupying south Korea and to put an end to the interference of outside forces against our country.

Today it is a trend of the times that all the countries and nations of the world, big and small, are advancing along the road of sovereignty and independence, opposing all forms of subjugation.

The day is at hand when the imperialist colonial system will crumble and the colonies will be eliminated from the globe once and for all thanks to the raging struggle of the oppressed



peoples for national liberation, sovereignty and independence.

However, south Korea is still under the colonial domination of the United States, contrary to that current of the times.

Hundreds of millions of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America who were oppressed and maltreated under the yoke of imperialism for centuries have cast off the accursed colonial fetters and have emerged on the scene of history as its masters, to carve their destinies by their own efforts, upholding the banner of independence. Why should south Korea alone remain continuously under the domination of outside forces?

Today no country and no people in the world wants to live subjugated by others, and no nation allows others to interfere in its internal affairs and trample its dignity under foot. But the United States, even though it has been occupying south Korea for more than 30 years, still refuses to get out of it.

We cannot allow this tyranny of the United States, which wants to keep the colonial domination of south Korea indefinitely, even today, when the colonial system is falling and the trend of independence dominates the times.

The United States cannot justify its occupation of south Korea under any pretext. The continued occupation of south Korea by the United States troops runs completely counter to the Korean Armistice Agreement, which envisages the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea, and the spirit of the North-South Joint Communiqué concerning realization of the peaceful reunification of the country by the Korean people themselves without interference from outside forces. Nor does it accord with the principles of the United Nations Charter, which rejects interference in the internal affairs of any country. The continued military occupation of south Korea by the United States simply menaces peace in Korea and further increases the danger of new war as the days go by.

The situation created in our country during the last year since the question of withdrawing all the foreign troops occupying south Korea under the flag of the United Nations failed to find any solution at the twenty-ninth session of the United Nations General Assembly has again glaringly demonstrated how urgent it is to withdraw the United States troops from south Korea, not only for peace in Korea but also for peace and security in Asia and the world.

Having suffered an ignominious defeat in Indo-China and having been driven out of many parts of Asia, the United States is trying to keep hold of south Korea as its last stronghold for Asian aggression.

The United States is trying to continue its military domination over south Korea by shoring up at any cost the present Pak Jung Hi fascist régime which is gripped with extreme unrest and fear as the lone puppets in Asia following the overthrow of the Lon Nol and Thieu cliques by the peoples' struggles.

That is why the United States, clamouring more noisily about the fictitious "threat of southward aggression", has reinforced its armed forces occupying south Korea by throwing in thousands more troops, has shipped into south Korea large quantities of combat materials including nuclear weapons—and even those weapons they are withdrawing from other parts of Asia—and is openly practising nuclear blackmail against us.

A United States Congress representative revealed that "the United States has one thousand nuclear weapons and 54 planes capable of carrying nuclear bombs in south Korea" and military experts of the United States have stated that the United States has deployed in south Korea hundreds of nuclear shells and bombs, scores of nuclear missiles with launchers and hundreds of nuclear mines.

United States Defense Secretary Schlesinger openly prattled:

"We do not exclude any of those options.

"We think you are also aware that we have deployed tactical nuclear weapons in south Korea.

"It is necessary to go for the heart of the opponent's power: destroy his military forces."

Nowadays the bellicose generals of the United States frequent south Korea and go round the areas of the military demarcation line to incite a war atmosphere.

The United States and the south Korean authorities have gone so far as to map out the so-called 9-day operation plan designed to conquer the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in nine days, and conduct military exercises every day simulating attacks on the northern half of our Republic.

At the same time, the United States has established the "tripartite security system of the United States, Japan and south Korea" with Japan as a "supply base" for south Korea. It tries to perpetrate a new aggressive war, reinforcing the south Korean troops on that basis and organically linking the forces of south Korea with the forces of Japan and the United States.

It is at such instigation of the United States that the Pak Jung Hi military fascist régime has further intensified fascist

oppression of the people and war manoeuvres in an attempt to save the crumbling foundation of its rule.

The south Korean military fascist rulers have completely stamped out the slightest democratic elements which obstruct the carrying out of their war policy, clamouring about the "establishment of a war posture" as never before and harshly oppressing the people who desire the democratization of society and the independent and peaceful reunification of the country, and have reduced the whole area of south Korea to a crucible of unprecedented fascist repression.

For the past year there has been no relaxation of the situation in our country, only further aggravation; confrontation between the north and south has become more tense; even dialogue could not remain the order of the day; and more grave obstacles were thrown in the way of reunification.

Reality proves that nothing can be solved so long as United States troops remain in south Korea. But, the United States is obstinately scheming to maintain its troops in south Korea on different unreasonable pretexts.

The United States still continues to talk about the so-called threat of southward aggression to justify the long-term occupation of south Korea by its troops. Reality gives a clear answer—who is threatened, we or south Korea?

Do we need to have any explanation to prove that those numerous nuclear war-heads and atomic and rocket weapons deployed along the military demarcation line are trained on the Korean people and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and that they are gravely menacing peace in Korea? No one believes the old tune of the "threat of southward aggression" repeated by the United States and the south Korean authorities.

The United States is raising a hue and cry, as if a big war will break out when the United States troops are withdrawn from south Korea. How can the withdrawal of foreign aggressive troops, with up-to-date lethal weapons, from their occupied country bring about a war? If the United States troops, engendering the constant danger of a war, get out of south Korea and stay further away from Korean territory, the threat of war will decrease **that much.**

There even appears an assertion in the United States to the effect that the United States cannot withdraw its troops from south Korea because south Korea is its "forward defence area" directly connected with United States security. How can south Korea, which is separated by thousands of miles from

the United States, across an ocean, be a "forward defence area" directly connected with United States security?

The United States openly declared south Korea its "defence area". This is precisely the old method of the colonialists who, in the past, invaded and occupied other countries at their will, claiming any lands necessary for them as their own territories.

United States Secretary of Defense Schlesinger has gone to the length of stating that

"the presence of the United States troops in south Korea should continue infinitely in view of the geopolitical value of the area, and the foreign aid from the United States is also necessary for an indefinite period."

Still fresh in the memories of the people is the history of the past, when the paid geopoliticians of Hitler once unhesitatingly advocated the extermination of neighbouring nations and the occupation of their territories so as to create "Lebensraum for the German nation"; and the Japanese imperialists put forward a variety of those geopolitics, named the "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" to justify their Asian aggression. Nevertheless, the United States ruling circles have now gone so far as to repeat the doctrine of undisguised aggression, again talking about geopolitics.

Why does the United States again bring forth the aggressive doctrine of geopolitics, which had already become totally bankrupt in the 1940s with the defeat of Hitler and Tojo? It would be absolutely foolish for one to think that such an aggressive doctrine which could not be carried out in the 1940s can work in the 1970s.

The United States can in no way justify the occupation of south Korea by its troops. The United States claim to stay on in south Korea reveals, in the final analysis, that it has not abandoned its wild ambition to invade the whole of Korea and Asia, with south Korea as a base. If it has no such wild ambition, why does it persistently refuse to get out of south Korea?

As the proverb has it, even the looks of mountains and rivers change in 10 years; but more than 30 years have already elapsed since the United States occupied south Korea. The history of this 30-year-long national division comprises untold miseries and agonies of our people.

We cannot allow this national tragedy which is caused by the occupation of south Korea by the United States troops to continue indefinitely.

All the peace-loving peoples of the world have realized

through their own life experience over a long period that the main key to the solution of the Korean question is to put an end to the outside interference; and naturally the voices demanding the withdrawal of the United States troops from south Korea are rising higher throughout the world.

To ease tension, guarantee peace and accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, the "United Nations Command" must be dissolved and all the foreign troops stationed in south Korea under the United Nations flag be withdrawn, before anything else.

The replacement of the Korean Armistice Agreement by a peace agreement is a fundamental requirement for ensuring a durable peace in Korea and Asia, terminating the outside interference against Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

Twenty two years have passed since the realization of the armistice in Korea, but the state of war has not yet been terminated and there still remains an unstable armistice. The maintenance of the unstable armistice in Korea engenders constant danger of a new war and menaces the peace and security of the world.

An armistice agreement is, by its nature, no more than a temporary ceasefire agreement on the cessation of hostilities between the two sides, and it presupposes its replacement with a new peace agreement which will completely terminate the state of war.

Article 4, paragraph 60, of the Korean Armistice Agreement envisages the holding of a political conference at a higher level, after the conclusion of the Armistice Agreement, to settle through negotiation the question of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea, and the question of turning the armistice into a durable peace, thereby finally solving the question of Korea.

Immediately following the end of the war in Korea, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea consistently made every effort to terminate the state of war as soon as possible and establish a durable peace. Despite our sincere efforts, the question of turning the armistice into a durable peace has not yet been solved, to this day, owing to the unwarranted position of the United States.

The United States unilaterally sabotaged the preliminary meeting held in preparation for a political conference at a higher level envisaged in the Armistice Agreement; disrupted the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the countries concerned

which was convened in Geneva in 1954 for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question; and has rejected all the reasonable proposals made by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for a durable peace in Korea and a peaceful settlement of the Korean question. Furthermore, the United States has committed flagrant violations of the Armistice Agreement only to render it impossible for the Armistice Agreement, which is precarious as such, to perform its original function.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has already advanced its proposal to convert the Korean Armistice Agreement into a peace agreement with a view to guaranteeing a durable peace in Korea, accelerating the peaceful reunification of Korea and securing peace in Asia and the world at large.

When a peace agreement is concluded between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States with those contents which we have proposed—namely, that both sides shall pledge to each other not to invade the other side and to remove the danger of armed conflicts; that the United States shall not interfere in the internal affairs of Korea; that both sides shall discontinue the reinforcement of their armed forces and the arms race; that all the foreign troops under the banner of the United Nations forces shall withdraw from south Korea; and that Korea shall not become the military base of any foreign country—and when the present Armistice Agreement is replaced by that peace agreement, the fundamental factor engendering the danger of a new war in our country will be removed; the state of military confrontation will be removed, and the tension between the north and the south will be substantially eased.

Not only is this an important measure for establishing a durable peace in Korea and creating favourable conditions for the independent and peaceful settlement of the Korean question, but it will also greatly contribute to guaranteeing peace and security in Asia and the world.

Our proposal to conclude a peace agreement between us and the United States and to replace the Korean Armistice Agreement by it fully accords with the will and desire of the entire Korean people and of peoples throughout the world, which unanimously want to see a durable peace in Korea and the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

The replacement of the Korean Armistice Agreement by a peace agreement presents itself as a practical demand which brooks no further delay at this time when the question of dis-

solving the "United Nations Command" and withdrawing all the foreign troops from south Korea is placed on the agenda of the day.

But the United States is responding to our just proposal to conclude a peace agreement with a demand to preserve the unstable Armistice Agreement. The United States representatives have always said here that United States troops remain in south Korea for "peace". But what the United States has done in deeds is diametrically contrary to what it has been saying.

Why does the United States insist on preserving the state of a temporary ceasefire at this time when everyone expresses the unanimous hope that a durable and lasting peace be established in Korea? Is it not clear to everyone that the present Armistice Agreement cannot remove the hotbed of war in Korea and cannot guarantee a durable peace? Nevertheless, the United States acts as if the Armistice Agreement were the only way of preventing the resumption of armed conflicts in Korea.

How can we preserve peace in Korea when the unstable armistice remains in effect? It is self-evident which stand is truly for peace in Korea—the stand for preserving the temporary, unstable armistice or the stand for concluding a new peace agreement to terminate the state of ceasefire once and for all.

The United States turns down our proposal to conclude a peace agreement and insists on the maintenance of the state of the ceasefire. This means that the United States wants to keep its troops in south Korea indefinitely under the pretext of implementing the Armistice Agreement, continue the present military confrontation existing between the north and the south of Korea and fix its division.

The United States can in no way conceal its ulterior intention to oppose the conclusion of a peace agreement and keep the unstable armistice. If the United States is really concerned for a peaceful solution of the Korean question, it should agree to convert the unstable armistice into a durable peace instead of trying to keep the former.

Taking this opportunity of the discussion of the question of creating favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea at this session of the United Nations General Assembly, we once again state that we are prepared to hold talks at any time to conclude a peace agreement between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States.

These days, some people say that it is necessary to make some arrangement for preserving the Armistice Agreement to fill the "gap" that may be created between the conclusion of a peace agreement and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from south Korea.

We consider that they express such a view either because they presuppose the dissolution of the "United Nations Command" only, while keeping the United States troops in south Korea, or because they fail fully to understand our stand. As we have already stated, this problem cannot arise if all foreign troops are withdrawn from south Korea concurrently with the dissolution of the "United Nations Command". In fact, there can be no gap at all if the north and the south settle by agreement the question of preserving peace in Korea on the principles of the North-South Joint Communiqué after a peace agreement is concluded and all United States troops in south Korea are withdrawn under that peace agreement.

Some people are also saying that it is not realistic to exclude south Korea from the discussion on the question of guaranteeing a durable peace in Korea. But this does not accord with reality. In order to achieve a durable peace in Korea, there are questions that should be settled with the United States while there are questions that should be settled with south Korea.

The question concerning the Armistice Agreement can be settled, to all intents and purposes, only between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States, which are the direct signatories to the Armistice Agreement and which have assumed practical responsibility for its implementation at present.

The question of preserving a durable peace in Korea after the conclusion of a peace agreement and the withdrawal of United States troops from south Korea, is not one in which the United States should meddle; it is a question that should be settled between us and south Korea.

We have already put forward a number of reasonable proposals for the settlement of all questions arising in regard to preserving a durable peace in Korea after the withdrawal of United States troops from south Korea, and, further, to achieving the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

To achieve a durable peace in Korea, the north and the south of Korea should observe the North-South Joint Statement and take practical measures, such as ceasing arms reinforcement, drastically reducing the armed forces of both sides



to an equal level, preventing armed conflicts, and guaranteeing each side against the use of force by the other, after the withdrawal of all foreign troops from south Korea.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has already proposed solving those problems by bilateral military negotiations between the military authorities of the north and the south.

If the north and the south enter upon bilateral military talks to discuss and settle the questions of removing the military confrontation between them and ensuring a lasting peace, in conditions in which all foreign troops are withdrawn from south Korea, and organize a North-South Joint Military Commission to implement the agreement reached between the two sides, a firm guarantee will be provided for preserving peace in our country.

Our proposal that a peace agreement be concluded between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States of America, the real parties to the Korean Armistice Agreement, completely to eliminate the state of war and put an end to all forms of outside interference, and that north-south military talks be held to settle through negotiation those problems which arise in regard to preserving peace in Korea after the withdrawal of United States troops under the peace agreement, is a just and fair proposal correctly reflecting the reality in Korea.

When the United States troops are withdrawn according to the peace agreement and the military confrontation between the north and the south is removed through the north-south military talks, the mistrust and misunderstanding between the north and the south caused by the artificial division will be dispelled and an atmosphere of national harmony and trust will be created. This will enable the Korean people to realize earlier the independent and peaceful reunification of the country, in accordance with the three principles and five-point proposal of national reunification outlined by the respected and beloved leader President Kim Il Sung.

The course for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country mapped out by the great leader President Kim Il Sung most correctly reflects the unanimous will and aspiration of the entire Korean people in the north and the south and enjoys the active support and approval of the peoples of the whole world.

The United States is doggedly opposing the withdrawal of the United States troops from south Korea and persistently

trying to preserve the unstable state of armistice at this session of the United Nations General Assembly also. The "draft resolution" submitted by the United States side to the United Nations General Assembly this autumn is a clear proof of it.

That "draft resolution" only talks about the dissolution of the "United Nations Command"; it does not even mention the withdrawal of United States troops occupying south Korea—the main obstacle to the reunification of Korea. Moreover, it gives no guarantee at all for securing a durable peace in Korea.

When the general situation has turned out decisively unfavourable for it and it can no longer camouflage its troops with the United Nations flag, the United States is crafty enough to speak as if it were ready to dissolve the "United Nations Command" at the current session of the United Nations General Assembly. But this is no more than a deceptive farce.

The United States says it will only dissolve the "United Nations Command" provided that the other parties directly concerned with the Armistice Agreement "agree ... that they will regard all provisions of the Armistice Agreement as continuing in force".

The natural result is that, if the "United Nations Command" is dissolved, the Armistice Agreement itself will also have to cease to exist. How can it demand that we should agree to continued maintenance of the Armistice Agreement? It is tantamount to demanding that we recognize the continued presence in south Korea of troops of the United States as a signatory to the Armistice Agreement, even if the "United Nations Command" is dissolved.

This demand of the United States, preposterous as it is, reveals to the full its true intention not to dissolve even the "United Nations Command".

It is not fortuitous that the United States does not even mention the withdrawal of all foreign troops from south Korea in its "draft resolution". The United States authorities are openly clamouring that, even if the "United Nations Command" is dissolved, United States troops will remain in south Korea under the so-called South Korea-United States Mutual Defence Treaty.

It was in this very forum of the United Nations General Assembly that the United States persistently alleged in the past that its troops stationed in south Korea were not United States troops but "United Nations forces". But today it alleges that those troops are not United Nations forces but United States troops—although they are the same troops. This is pre-

cisely the aggressive doctrine of the United States that what is good for it is also true.

Some time ago the United States played a trick of lowering the flag of the United Nations at its military establishments in south Korea or "restricting" the use of the flag.

The United States tries quietly to remove the label "United Nations forces" from the United States troops in south Korea and, instead, to make believe that the United States troops are there under the "South Korea-United States Mutual Defence Treaty". But, can the label change their true nature?

The United States has proposed to convene a conference of what it calls "the parties concerned" to discuss ways of maintaining the armistice under the specious heading of the so-called dissolution of the United Nations Command. It is no more than empty talk which is of no practical value.

Reality demands that the armistice be converted into a durable peace; and it is nonsensical to propose to convene a conference only to maintain the unstable armistice engendering a constant danger of war. Furthermore, insistence that south Korea be involved in the discussion of the matter of disposing of the Armistice Agreement is not an attitude conducive to a solution of the question from the outset.

As far as the south Korean authorities are concerned, they are not signatories to the Armistice Agreement; and, furthermore, they have been persistently opposed to the Armistice Agreement. Therefore, they cannot become a party concerned in regard to this Agreement, nor have they any right to involve themselves in the disposal of the Armistice Agreement, under any circumstances.

As in the past, the "draft resolution" of the United States side is no more than a plot to justify the occupation of south Korea by the United States troops in the name of the United Nations and to create "two Koreas" to perpetuate the division of Korea. When its unjust "draft resolution" met with strong opposition of world opinion and its nature became exposed, the United States merged it with a subsequently proposed "amendment".

The "amendment" reads as if the United States wanted "ease of tension" and "a durable peace" in Korea. But it mentions neither the withdrawal of all the foreign troops from south Korea nor the replacement of the Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement. This shows that it is not different in any way, in essence, from the original "draft resolution" of the United States side.

In the long run, it is quite clear that both the "amendment" and the revised "draft resolution" are aimed at preventing the United Nations from taking positive measures for the just settlement of the Korean question, maintaining the United States troops' occupation of south Korea, creating "two Koreas" and realizing the aggressive ambition of the United States against Korea and Asia.

As all the facts show, the draft resolution, sponsored by peace-loving countries, on the creation of favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea reflects the stand for peace, independence and reunification. On the contrary, the "draft resolution", mainly sponsored by the United States and other colonialist Powers of the past and present is aimed at war, subjugation and division.

In his "statement" today, the so-called representative of south Korea tried so hard to cover up the true purpose of the "draft resolution" of the United States side that he made silly attempts to backbite, completely reversing black and white with fabrication and fraudulence, even the socialist system of our country which is ever flourishing and prosperous under the wise leadership of President Kim Il Sung, the respected and beloved leader of our people.

This is no more than an expression of the desperate agony of those who are gripped with extreme unease and fear, thoroughly isolated and rejected by the people.

In no way can the south Korean authorities impair the dignity of our people who are firmly united around the great leader President Kim Il Sung and the high international prestige of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

In the long run, the "statement" of the south Korean "representative" only serves to reveal more thoroughly the criminal nature of the south Korean authorities as dirty servants of imperialism and traitors to our nation, who are engaged in national treason, depending on outside forces.

Now the world's attention is focused on this conference hall where the Korean question is under discussion.

Two opposing draft resolutions have been submitted on the question of Korea before this Committee.

One of them is aimed at opening a bright prospect for the reunification of Korea and world peace, by completely liquidating the root causes that have imposed the bitter sufferings of national division on the Korean people for 30 years and thrown dark clouds over world peace.

On the contrary, the other "draft resolution" is designed to maintain the division of Korea and dangerous tension indefinitely.

The present session will have to choose one of them.

The draft resolution sponsored by peace-loving countries accords with the Lima Programme adopted with unanimous support of all the non-aligned countries at the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries some time ago.

The Lima Programme reads as follows:

"The Conference...reaffirms its support of the policy for the independent and peaceful reunification without any foreign interference in its internal affairs advocated by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and demands that all foreign troops that remain stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag be withdrawn and the present Korean Military Armistice Agreement be replaced with a peace agreement, in order to create favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea."  
(NAC/FM/CONF.5/15, para. 60)

The delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea appeals to the delegates of all the progressive countries to support the draft resolution, sponsored by 42 countries, reflecting the unanimous desire of the peoples of socialist countries, non-aligned countries and all the peace-loving countries of the world, so that it may be adopted at this session of the United Nations General Assembly.

In the future too, as in the past, we will make every endeavour to put an end to national division, accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea and achieve a durable peace in Korea.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people, who pursue independent, anti-imperialist and peace-loving foreign policies, will always advance side by side with the Governments and peoples of all countries of the world fighting against imperialism, colonialism and racism and for peace, democracy, national independence and social progress, and will actively support and encourage them in their just cause.

The Korean people will certainly make all the foreign troops withdraw from south Korea and realize, sooner or later, the historic cause of the country's reunification, with the support and co-operation of the peace-loving peoples of the world.

### *Speech Made on October 27*

First of all, may I express thanks to you, Mr. Chairman, for allowing me to speak again.

Many representatives have so far made statements in this Committee dealing with the question of Korea.

All the representatives of those countries which love justice and peace have unanimously emphasized the need to create favourable prerequisites for establishing a durable peace in Korea and realizing the reunification of Korea by withdrawing from south Korea the United States troops, the main obstacle standing in the way of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, and by replacing the Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement.

This is a great encouragement to the Korean people in their pursuit of the cause of national reunification.

I should like to express profound thanks again to all the representatives of those friendly countries who support and sympathize with our people in their struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

The debate on the question of Korea in this Committee so far has shown again clearly that the question of Korean reunification should be solved independently by the Korean people themselves without any interference by outside forces and that it is high time to put an end to the debate on the question of Korea in the United Nations.

However, the United States has persistently attempted to justify its unwarranted position of seeking to impose its troops' occupation of south Korea and the permanent division of Korea, going against the current trend of the times towards anti-imperialism and independence in disregard of the unanimous will and desire of the entire Korean people.

In this forum of the United Nations, the representative of the United States has again repeated that the United States attaches importance to so-called peace and security in Korea and that it is making efforts for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. This is a bare revelation of the double-dealing tactics of the United States.

It is no secret that it was under this signboard of peace that the United States perpetrated the sanguinary wars of aggression in Korea, Viet-Nam and Cambodia, and that it has indulged in subversion and sabotage, interfering in the

internal affairs of other countries in Africa and Latin America.

Even now the United States is clamouring about peace on the one hand while, on the other hand, it is stepping up war preparations, continuously introducing into south Korea weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear weapons and combat material.

At a time when the representative of the United States is talking about peace in Korea in this Committee, the Pentagon has decided to deliver to south Korea 60 F-5-F jet fighter planes with their base equipment worth \$205 million, F-5-E fighter planes worth \$178 million and guided missiles for use against ships, with other naval military equipment, worth \$80.4 million, only to help south Korea in war preparations and has referred its decision to the United States Senate for approval.

This is the so-called peace effort the United States is talking about.

The United States refuses to get out of south Korea not in the cause of peace but for the purpose of permanent occupation of south Korea to realize its wild ambition of aggression against Korea and Asia.

This is the very purpose pursued by the draft resolution submitted to this Committee by the United States side.

As the question of dissolving the United Nations Command and withdrawing the United States troops occupying south Korea under the flag of the United Nations has been placed on the agenda as a question which brooks no further delay, the United States is making every desperate effort to maintain its troops in south Korea at all costs.

The United States representative has tried to describe as an expression of its sincerity and goodwill the United States' submission to the United Nations General Assembly of a draft resolution which proposes to dissolve the United Nations Command, on condition that the Armistice Agreement is maintained.

Can a thief talk about sincerity when he is forced out of the house into which he has intruded?

Now the United States is talking about the dissolution of the United Nations Command. This is, in fact, no more than a clumsy farce which is simply aimed at winning the favour of the people of the world, at deceiving international public opinion, and at continuing its occupation of south Korea by changing the helmets of the United Nations forces for other helmets.

The United States has again engaged in such preposterous

and shameless sophism as to state that there is now a "United Nations force" of only 300 in south Korea and that the rest are the United States troops that are stationed there under the "South Korea-United States Mutual Defence Treaty", which, it says, is not the business of the United Nations. Even that "United Nations force" of 300 is, it says, the staff personnel of the "United Nations Command" and the "ceremonial honour guards of the Command". Where on earth can we find a command without its subordinate troops? If there is any such command, for what purpose does it exist?

The United States stated only recently that it had taken steps to remove the United Nations flags from the United States troops occupying south Korea, and to limit the use of the flag. Is it not obvious that you yourself are admitting that they have so far behaved as "United Nations forces" under the flag of the United Nations? The purpose of the United States in asserting that its troops in south Korea are not "United Nations forces" is by now very clear. As a matter of fact, the arrogant behaviour of the United States, which hoists and lowers the flag of the United Nations freely, as if it were its own stars and stripes, is an act of disregarding the United Nations.

The United States asserts that the United States troops, more than 40,000 strong, at present in south Korea are the troops stationed there under the "South Korea-United States Mutual Defence Treaty". From what time were the "United Nations forces" and the United States troops which were not the "United Nations forces" stationed in south Korea separately?

Paragraph 13 (c) of the Korean Armistice Agreement stipulates that both sides cease the introduction into Korea of reinforcing military personnel, except for the rotation of units and personnel conducted on a man-for-man basis.

In view of that requirement of the Armistice Agreement, it is only too clear that they can be no other foreign troops than those troops wearing the helmets of the "United Nations forces" in south Korea.

In the past, it was none other than the United States which tried to justify the occupation of south Korea by its troops by using the signboard of the "United Nations forces". As members of this Committee may still vividly recall, the successive representatives of the United States themselves repeatedly stated in this place that all their forces stationed in south Korea "are under the United Nations Command"; and the senior



members of the "United Nations Command" side to the Korean Military Armistice Agreement, who are actually the representatives of the United States, say to this very day that there are only "United Nations forces" stationed in south Korea under the United Nations "resolution", but absolutely no United States troops. Now, however, the United States doggedly insists that there is only a "United Nations force" of 300, out of the United States troops, more than 40,000 strong, occupying south Korea. How ridiculous that is. The United States representative has gone too far in his trick and he is now caught in a trap he laid himself.

To justify the occupation of south Korea by its troops the United States calls its troops "United Nations forces" when it considers it advantageous to use the name of the United Nations, but it insists that its troops are not "United Nations forces" when it considers it disadvantageous to wear the helmet of the United Nations. That is a bare revelation of the shamelessness of United States imperialism and clearly shows the depth of the hot water into which it has fallen.

It is a historical fact which no one can deny that the United States troops crept into south Korea under the signboard of the "United Nations forces" even before the "South Korea-United States Mutual Defence Treaty" was concluded. When it has become impossible to justify the occupation of south Korea by the United States troops even with the name of the United Nations, it is a futile attempt to justify the occupation of south Korea by the United States troops by using the illegal "treaty" the United States concluded, in violation of the Armistice Agreement, with the south Korean "régime", which represents no one in Korea.

The United States is shameless enough to say that it "supports" the North-South Joint Statement and desires to see the continuation of the north-south dialogue, while continuously maintaining its aggressive troops in south Korea and flagrantly interfering in the internal affairs of Korea.

If the United States truly supports the North-South Joint Statement, why does it insist on maintaining its aggressive troops in south Korea when the north and the south have agreed to achieve the reunification of the country independently, without any interference by outside forces, and why does it instigate the south Korean authorities towards war when the north and the south have agreed to achieve the reunification not by means of war but by peaceful means? The United States instigates the south Korean authorities towards what it calls

“confrontation with dialogue”, “competition with dialogue” and “coexistence with dialogue” only to incite hostilities against the northern half of our Republic. Is that an act of supporting the North-South Joint Statement?

It is the United States which stands in the way of the north-south dialogue, in flagrant violation of the North-South Joint Statement. That notwithstanding, the United States and the south Korean authorities change black into white, describing matters as if we were responsible for the dilemma in the dialogue between the north and the south. We have made every effort to lead the north-south dialogue to success, in order to make it a foundation stone for reunification.

Our invariable position is that the north and the south should not go for confrontation, competition or coexistence, but should unite, collaborate and be reunified. The future of the north-south dialogue depends entirely on the attitude of the United States and the south Korean authorities.

The United States says that south Korea should not be excluded from the work of replacing the Armistice Agreement by a peace agreement; but that is no more than a trick to prevent the achievement of a peace agreement in Korea. As we made clear in our previous statement, there are those questions that should be solved with the United States and those which should be solved with south Korea, in order to ensure a durable peace in Korea and achieve its independent and peaceful reunification.

Whether or not to exclude south Korea from the question of replacing the Armistice Agreement by a peace agreement cannot be a subject for discussion. It is a question which can be settled, in whatever circumstances, only between us and the United States—the parties which are the direct signatories to the Armistice Agreement and responsible for its implementation.

It is self-evident that south Korea—which not only did not participate in the signing of the Korean Armistice Agreement but also opposed the conclusion of the armistice itself, declaring that it would not be bound by the Agreement—has no competence whatsoever to meddle in the disposal of the Armistice Agreement.

On this question, which is related to the negotiations between the real parties on replacing the Armistice Agreement by a peace agreement, the United States speaks as if we attempted to exclude south Korea from the settlement of the question of the reunification of Korea. Its only design is to divert

public attention elsewhere by deliberately distorting the facts.

What we demand is that concrete steps be taken to remove the military confrontation between the north and the south following the conclusion of a peace agreement between us and the United States and the withdrawal of United States troops from south Korea.

With regard to the question of the reunification of Korea, it is an internal affair of our nation in which neither the United States nor any other foreign forces should meddle. It is a question that must be settled by the Korean people themselves, between the north and the south.

The representative of the United States also said that it would take a long time for us and the United States to conclude a peace agreement, and accordingly some arrangements would be necessary for maintaining the Armistice Agreement pending the conclusion of a peace agreement. Why does the United States presuppose that it will take a long time to conclude a peace agreement? It is obvious that the United States does make this supposition because it has the ulterior intention of maintaining its troops in south Korea for a long time. If the United States intends to withdraw its aggressive troops from south Korea and desist from interfering in the internal affairs of Korea here and now, it will be an easy matter to conclude a peace agreement.

The question is whether or not the United States is truly willing to ensure a durable peace in Korea and whether or not it wants to terminate its interference in the internal affairs of Korea so that the Koreans may solve the Korean question by their own efforts.

The United States insistence on the maintenance of the Armistice Agreement clearly shows that it does not want to see the termination of the state of war in Korea and that its ulterior design is to aggravate tension and indefinitely freeze the division of Korea by continuing to maintain the unstable armistice.

As the United States is unable to justify by any means the occupation of south Korea by its troops and its machinations for the permanent division of Korea, it proposes some compromise. There can be no compromise on the fundamental question of withdrawing the United States troops—the main obstacle in the way of the independent and peaceful reunification of our country.

To talk about some compromise on this fundamental issue is, in the long run, designed to maintain United States troops

in south Korea and to impose the sufferings of national division on our people.

As a result of the occupation of south Korea by United States troops, our people, who lived in one territory for thousands of years as one nation, are divided into two, and millions of parents, brothers and sisters are undergoing to this day the heart-rending sufferings of living apart, unable to know about each other's safety, let alone to meet. Why should we suffer further from this national tragedy? We shall never permit any attempt to impose such a national tragedy upon the Korean people. The Korean people are one nation which cannot live separated into two.

Even though they are now divided into two owing to the Military Demarcation Line—which is not a national boundary—nothing can weaken the sentiments of kinship that grow in the hearts of our people, or their unanimous aspiration to live in a unified country.

The United States should not try to justify the occupation of south Korea by its troops and perpetuate the division of Korea by sophism and deceptive tricks that can deceive no one, but should dissolve the "United Nations Command" and withdraw all its troops from south Korea.

The question of Korean reunification is a question of withdrawing the foreign imperialists who are illegally occupying half of the country, retaking the lost territory and people from them and establishing national sovereignty on a nationwide scale.

Therefore, the struggle of the Korean people for national reunification is part of the struggle of the peoples of the world against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism, and their striving for national liberation and the independent development of their countries.

I wish to take this opportunity to call again upon the representatives of all peace-loving countries to render support and encouragement to our people in their just struggle to terminate the national division caused by the occupation of foreign imperialist aggressive troops and to achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of their country.

### *Speech Made on October 29*

Today the First Committee of the General Assembly has adopted a resolution on the creation of favourable conditions

for converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, sponsored by 43 peace-loving countries with the active support and approval of the overwhelming majority of the Member States of the United Nations.

The delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea warmly supports and welcomes the resolution, which is in full conformity with the will and interests of our people, who are desirous of independent and peaceful reunification.

The adoption of the just resolution sponsored by 43 peace-loving countries at this meeting is a brilliant victory won by the Korean people and the progressive peoples of the world who love justice and who have waged an arduous struggle for 30 years for the withdrawal of the United States troops occupying south Korea under the flag of the United Nations and to achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. It is also a victory of the line of independence, peace and reunification over the line of dependence, war and division, and the proud victory of justice and progressive forces over injustice and reactionary forces.

The adoption of the resolution on the creation of favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and for accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, with the support of the overwhelming majority of the Member States, constitutes a great encouragement to our people in their struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country, and at the same time it is a heavy blow to the United States imperialists who manoeuvre to perpetuate the division of Korea while occupying South Korea.

May I take this opportunity to express my heartfelt thanks to our intimate friends who have always supported with sincerity our people's just cause of national unification, and waged an active struggle for the adoption of the draft resolution on the creation of favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, after sponsoring it, and our thanks also to the representatives of all friendly peace-loving countries that have expressed support for and sympathy with the resolution.

The result of the discussion of the question of Korea in the First Committee has this time clearly demonstrated that the advance towards independence and sovereignty against all

forms of aggression and intervention has become a powerful trend and that no force can check this current of our times.

The United States and its Western allies have made despicable and dirty efforts to prevent adoption of the just resolution on the withdrawal of the United States troops occupying south Korea under the flag of the United Nations. They persistently resorted to desperate manoeuvres. However, the just cause of the Korean people, who are fighting for the realization of the independent and peaceful reunification of the country, has enjoyed the support and encouragement of an ever-increasing number of countries, for its justice and force have been further expanded and strengthened as the days go by.

Thanks to the genius and patient struggle of the Korean people and the peace-loving peoples of the world, today in the First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly a resolution has been adopted calling for an end to the United States aggression committed in Korea under the name of the United Nations.

The whole course of the discussion on the question of Korea in the United Nations, which has been continued throughout the history of the United Nations, reflects clearly the historical cause in which the struggle of the oppressed peoples of the world against imperialism, colonialism and racism, and to safeguard national freedom and sovereign rights, was victorious and imperialism and colonialism, which were forces of subjugation and cruelty, were decaying and becoming bankrupt. If the United Nations General Assembly adopts at its present session the draft resolution of the peace-loving countries on the creation of favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, the United States will have no further pretext for keeping its aggressive troops in south Korea.

The United States should agree to the conclusion of a peace agreement and dissolve the United Nations Command without delay, and at the same time withdraw all its aggressive troops from south Korea, as demanded in the draft resolution, which reflects the will of the overwhelming majority of the Member States of the United Nations. When the United States troops are withdrawn from south Korea, the Korean people will be able to find excellent solutions to the problems of their national reunification in full independence.

The First Committee at the current session of the United

Nations General Assembly has also adopted an unwarranted draft resolution because of such despicable and desperate machinations as threat, blackmail and deceit by the United States imperialists, which is aimed at the occupation of south Korea by the United States imperialist troops and the perpetuation of the division of Korea.

The so-called draft resolution, initiated by the United States and the colonial Powers of the past and the present, runs completely counter to the desire of the entire Korean people and the peace-loving peoples of the world for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. The delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea solemnly declares that it will never recognize that unjust draft resolution and resolutely opposes it.

The United States representative, even at this Committee meeting, made a futile attempt to camouflage the criminal acts which the United States has committed and is still committing against the Korean people. It is a foolish attempt. The United States representative made nonsensical remarks only to cover up what the United States imperialists did in Korea against our people, namely the fact that the United States imperialists ignited a barbarous war of aggression in Korea, and he again repeated the old tune saying that there are only 300 military personnel under the United Nations Command and that the United States troops are stationed in south Korea under the south Korea-United States Mutual Defence Treaty. His statement is a clear revelation of the aggressive nature of the so-called draft resolution which has just been adopted by this Committee.

However, the United States imperialists cannot hide their true colours as a shameless aggressor and foul criminal. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people will in the future too wage a resolute struggle, together with the peace-loving peoples of the world, for the complete reunification of the country, for the country's sovereignty and for world peace, and against all forms of aggression and intervention.

In conclusion, may I express my thanks to you, Mr. Chairman for the very important contribution you have made to the conclusion of the discussion on the question of Korea.



## RAHAL

Algeria

### *Speeches Made on October 21*

Turning once again to the debate on the Korean question, it is difficult for us to conceal our disappointment at the persistence of a situation inherited from the past which so clearly jeopardizes the establishment of a just and durable balance in the world. Korea remains divided, and the prospects of its reunification as an independent and peaceful country seem more distant than ever so long as the General Assembly continues, as it has unfortunately done so far, to shirk its responsibilities and allows itself to be dominated by pressures and manoeuvres which are paralysing its action.

The responsibilities of the United Nations in the Korean problem are sufficiently well known and it is not necessary, therefore, for me to go over them once again. Those it assumed in the past, both in the Korean war and in the division of that unfortunate country, are certainly not to its credit; but that is now a question of history. But the responsibilities it still retains, and which are helping to perpetuate the present situation, are certainly of interest to us, because it is not only our right but our duty to assess the role played in Korea by our Organization, and determine its future direction.

Since it took the wise and long-awaited decision at its twenty-eighth session, to dissolve the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, the General Assembly has made no further progress towards a settlement of the Korean question. Plots hatched long ago continue to have their effect, unfortunately, whenever this problem is raised, and have the effect of curbing any developments in the situation likely to call into question the United States presence in the south of the country.

This attitude was understandable during the cold war, when the two antagonistic blocs were strengthening their zones of influence and making them the frontiers of their own secu-



rity. But the cold war has now given way to détente between the super-Powers, and can no longer be used to justify such a substantial deployment of military resources and the maintenance of a zone of tension which is liable to jeopardize the initial successes of the peaceful coexistence that we have achieved with such difficulty.

The United States presence in South Korea also constituted an element in the tactics of encircling and isolating the People's Republic of China, during the many years when the United States wanted to combat the spreading influence of that country both in Asia and in the rest of the world. But that situation has also changed, and the relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China are no longer marked by the same hostility.

For some time the Viet-Nameese war and the general situation in South-East Asia made understandable the importance attached by the United States to its military presence in South Korea. The restoration of peace in Indo-China and the new situation which resulted from it throughout the region should naturally facilitate a settlement of the Korean question and provide the United Nations with the opportunity and possibility of turning the situation towards a peaceful development leading to the reunification of Korea, by inducing the Korean leaders to resolve their differences without any foreign intervention.

Now, at our last session, after a particularly lively debate, the resolution adopted by the Assembly on the question of Korea was confined to expressing hopes and wishes, but did not embody any real decision. Once again the Assembly was turned away from its responsibilities, and prevented from taking control of a problem relating to international peace and security in which it is directly involved. Such a resolution could not have been expected to have any result, and this is quite clear today, because it is obvious that a year later we are still at the same point.

That manoeuvre, the negative result of which could not be clearer, has nevertheless been attempted once again this year by the same group of countries, which are still proposing to our Committee the same sort of draft resolution whereby the General Assembly, renouncing its prerogatives and abdicating its responsibilities, would confine itself once again to reaffirming hopes and wishes. There could be no more explicit evidence of an open contempt for the Organization and its Members than the attempt, while using the United Nations as a cover for

the military presence of the United States in South Korea, to prevent the Organization from taking any part in seeking a solution to the crisis.

For our part, we think it is for the General Assembly to take the necessary initiatives to encourage the establishment of a dialogue between the North and South Korean leaders and facilitate their progress towards the peaceful reunification of their country, to which they both aspire. This dialogue, begun in 1972, was not unfortunately continued. Its breaking off was due, no doubt, to factors peculiar to the Korean situation: the accumulated difficulties of so many years of animosity, mistrust and hostility; the leaders on both sides will certainly need a great deal of courage and tenacity to overcome their misgivings and, in the end, find a common language.

But it is also clear that the discussions between Korean leaders will not be able to resume and make headway unless an end is put to all foreign intervention in Korea. That intervention, as we unfortunately know only too well, distorts the real problems and, by affecting the balance of power, and in the final analysis wrecks all hope of understanding between the parties concerned.

The dissolution of the United Nations Command and the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the cover of the United Nations flag thus appears as an indispensable condition for the restoration of a true dialogue between North and South Korea. That measure, an exclusive responsibility of the General Assembly, is all the more imperative because the presence of those foreign troops is at the core of the mounting tension in Korea and constitutes the fundamental obstacle to any progress towards the reunification of the country.

The introduction into South Korea of modern American armaments, including various types of atomic weapons and guided missiles, the continued strengthening of the South Korean army and its joint military manoeuvres with the American army are obviously not calculated to encourage the Seoul régime, with its already marked leanings towards Fascism, to display sufficient realism and moderation to undertake serious negotiations with the leaders of North Korea.

Moreover, it is urgent that the Military Armistice Agreement in Korea be replaced by a peace agreement in the context of the dissolution of the United Nations Command and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea, in order to create favourable conditions for the elimination of tension, the

establishment of lasting peace in Korea and the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. The Armistice Agreement is in fact only a temporary cease-fire Agreement; it can neither put an end to the state of war, nor guarantee lasting peace. Twenty-two years after its signature it is no longer in keeping with existing conditions in the region or in the world at large, and it seems to us high time that the signatories transformed it into a true peace agreement, thus eliminating the last vestiges of a by-gone era and opening the way for a final settlement of the Korean crisis. The General Assembly is in duty bound to promote such an event by explicitly formulating that request in the decision it will have to take at the end of this debate.

It will then be for the General Assembly to call upon the North and South Korean leaders to observe the principles which they themselves laid down in their Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972 and to take specific measures to put an end to the strengthening of their arsenals, to reduce their respective armed forces to equal but much lower levels, to prevent armed conflicts between themselves and to guarantee that they will not use armed force against each other. From a practical standpoint, these measures will contribute not only to consolidating and guaranteeing peace in Korea, but also to dispelling mistrust and misunderstanding and strengthening understanding and mutual trust between the North and the South, thus creating an atmosphere of great national unity favourable to the reunification of the country.

It is in these circumstances that negotiations between the leaders of the two Koreas can really get under way, and the United Nations, having resumed its role as an instrument of understanding among peoples and the guardian of world peace will then be able to put its prestige and authority to good use by encouraging these discussions, overcoming difficulties and making possible what for such a long time seemed impossible, that is to say, the reunification, independent and peaceful, of Korea.

Throughout the world we are today witnessing a clear move towards settlement of disputes and crises which threaten peace. In Asia itself, the Indo-China war finally ended with the victory of the Viet-Nameese and Cambodian peoples. Today more and more people are preaching the virtues of détente and advocating co-operation among all peoples. Well, then, the Korean peninsula and the Korean people cannot remain outside this current. Victims of the cold war, they must now benefit from the understanding and concern of the international

community so that they can finally recover a unity which can no longer be denied them, and independence for which they have already paid dearly enough, and a prosperity which they will achieve by their own efforts once they can devote themselves finally and exclusively to the constructive tasks of building their future. The General Assembly has another chance today of making this possible, of contributing to the fulfilment of this aspiration and providing the means for this to be done. We call upon the General Assembly not to lose this opportunity and not to evade its responsibilities in a matter which weighs so heavily over its past but offers such promise for its future.

Mr. Chairman, I apologize to you and to all our colleagues here if, by raising this point of order, I am forcing them to stay here a while longer.

In opening the debate this morning, you appealed to us to address ourselves first to the substance of the problem itself and to reserve for a later time any procedural questions. I should like to reassure you right away that the purpose of this point of order is not at all to involve the First Committee in a procedural debate. Nevertheless, I have asked to speak at the end of this meeting because, I must confess, I am a little embarrassed by the various documents which have been distributed by the Secretariat on the question of Korea. For example, I am well aware that there was a draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708, submitted on 27 June 1975, and another in document A/C.1/L.709, submitted to the Secretariat on 8 August 1975.

I should like to stress, first of all, that the Secretariat has been particularly painstaking in indicating the date on which each of these documents was submitted. I am certainly not criticizing it for taking such pains in such a delicate matter as the question of Korea. At least that frees the Secretariat of responsibility in case there is a question of any challenge in respect of the order in which the documents should be considered by the First Committee. In this connexion, I should like to say that the group of sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709 has asked, in a document recently circulated by the Secretariat, dated September 1975, that its draft resolution be given priority in any voting procedure. But, of course, that is not the cause of my embarrassment; quite the contrary, the precautions taken by the Secretariat have made the situation entirely clear. My embarrassment begins after that.

Indeed, I do not think I was the only one who received another document bearing the symbol "A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1", dated 10 October 1975, and yet another bearing the symbol "A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1\*\*", dated 14 October 1975, which reproduces in the same terms the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708, with the note "reissued again for technical reasons". Usually, technical reasons prevent new editions; but here we have technical reasons which make necessary a new edition. I think this simply stems from the fact that the date of the first edition of document A/C.1/L.708 had been omitted.

So, first of all, I am a little embarrassed simply on the basis of the aforementioned considerations. But I am becoming even more embarrassed when I read the text of document A/C.1/L.708—with which I was already familiar—and the texts of documents A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1 and A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1\*\*, because such numbering suggests that we have before us a single text which had been slightly amended. Now, how did it come about that document A/C.1/L.708 became A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1?

Our colleague the representative of Japan explained to us that the group of sponsors which had submitted the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708 had incorporated in their original text the French and other amendments and that their group, in a display of magnanimity, was ready to incorporate further amendments, if necessary, in the text. I am not reproaching them for being so kind as to accept compromise, but, after having listened to the statement of the representative of France, a statement as eloquent as it was cogent, I have no reason to suppose that it was anything but sincere. However, I think that the First Committee would feel that the French amendments were not just a matter of slight alterations which might be considered an amendment to a text. I believe that by incorporating those amendments in the original text of A/C.1/L.708—and perhaps even introducing others—you in fact end up with another draft resolution.

In my view, the Secretariat, which has been so scrupulous in indicating the dates the various draft resolutions had been submitted, might have been scrupulous about this fact too: that on 10 October 1975 it was presented with an entirely different text from that in document A/C.1/L.708 which required at least giving that document a different symbol. I hope that the Secretariat will fully agree with me and undertake to change the symbol so as to clarify the situation. Thus we can be sure that henceforth we are no longer talking about the text in

document A/C.1/L.708, submitted in June 1975, but about an entirely new text—which could itself be subject to amendments—if we are to believe in the readiness of the sponsors of the original text to accept them.

That is the only purpose of my point of order. And while I am respectfully addressing you, Mr. Chairman, and urging the Secretariat, I hope that this slight error—which is of course of a technical nature but may have serious consequences for the outcome of this debate—will indeed be corrected.

I have asked to speak a second time because in his statement my very good friend Ambassador Baroody might have given the impression that my first statement was directed against the Secretariat. But that is not at all the case. I had no intention whatsoever of questioning the honesty of the Secretariat. I was simply confused by the numbering of the documents. If it is necessary to make my meaning even clearer, I would say this: If this system is maintained in the First Committee, a group of co-sponsors can simply keep a number on the list of documents deposited with the Secretariat and can put anything it wishes under that number. Thus, the co-sponsors of the first draft resolution, document A/C.1/L.708, could have put anything they wanted under that number—for example: "Question of Korea." Then let us suppose that the General Assembly had decided not to discuss that question this year. The co-sponsors could then have placed a completely different draft resolution under that same symbol, A/C.1/L.708.

I think that this is a serious question; the General Assembly must maintain some dignity and not engage in these little manoeuvres.

That was the purpose of my statement, and I hope that the Committee will agree with me—and I include the co-sponsors of the original draft resolution, who seem to think that the introduction of the French amendments into the first text has in fact produced a different text. If that is not the case, then I have not understood the statement made by the representative of France.

I would not have asked for the floor again if I had not heard with some surprise the statement of the representative of France.

Had I not been speaking French, I might have ascribed

our misunderstanding to an error of interpretation. But I believe I was speaking French—if not good French, at least sufficiently accurate French not to have given rise to any ambiguities of the kind I noted when listening to the representative of France.

I never said that France indulged in manipulations or that France wanted by so doing to lower the dignity of the Assembly. On the contrary, I think that I first of all said that, in my view, it was an extremely serious amendment, and that was my basis for saying that the introduction of these amendments to the original draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708 gave quite a different complexion to that draft. That is why I asked that the new draft resolution resulting from the addition of the French amendments should receive another symbol.

### *Speeches Made on October 29*

I should like to say at once, Mr. Chairman, that I did not ask to speak to explain our vote. I think you will agree that the voting procedure for the draft resolutions has not yet begun and that there is occasion for the Committee first of all to take decisions on other procedural points, which have already arisen and which we indicated.

But before embarking on those matters, I should like first of all, in order to respond to the appeal which you, Sir, have addressed to all delegations present, to assure you that my delegation, like all the delegations that make up our group of sponsors, will do its utmost to ensure that in the debate which is to set the seal of approval on our discussions on the important question of Korea the Committee retains the dignity appropriate to such an occasion.

I should like to assure you, Sir, that, taking into account the importance of the problem and of the issue at stake, our attitude will be such as to enable this Committee to see the issue clearly and take a specific decision that will express its real intention on a problem which has after all, we must not forget, loomed on the horizon of this Organization since its very creation. Accordingly we shall proceed in such a manner that our efforts will be joined with yours, Mr. Chairman, so that no confusion is introduced in the voting procedure and that the result we shall arrive at, whatever it may be, will be seen to reflect without ambiguity the will of this Committee.

I should like to remind you, Mr. Chairman, and all repre-

sentatives here present, that when I raised a point of order I pointed out the ambiguity which in my opinion has been introduced in the numbering of the draft resolutions submitted. In particular I stated the view of my delegation that the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708 having undergone major amendments submitted by the French and other delegations, had become a different text and should not have been distributed to the First Committee as document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1\*\*. In saying that I based myself in the first place on the statement made by the French delegation itself, which in submitting its amendments had clearly explained the changes which those amendments would introduce into the original text of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708. Some delegations challenged that view in their statements.

Although the notion of an amendment is not very precise, and although we have no mathematical definition of an amendment, I think, none the less, that common sense should prevent us from going beyond certain limits, and restrict our interpretation to what is reasonable, because in the rules of procedure of the General Assembly there is a definition—not very specific, I admit, but nevertheless a definition—of an amendment. Rule 130 states:

“A motion is considered an amendment to a proposal if it merely adds to, deletes from or revises part of the proposal.”

There is no doubt that when elements are introduced into a text which change its substance, it is no longer possible, in our view, to say that we are dealing merely with an amendment.

I am not holding the Secretariat responsible for this; nevertheless, if the Secretariat tells us that it is for the Committee to decide whether the amended text has become a new text or not, then I think the Secretariat could also have asked us, before giving the number A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1\*\* to the amended text, whether the Committee considered it was still the same text. The Secretariat faced us with a *fait accompli* and told us that if that *fait accompli* was to be changed it was for the Committee to decide to do so.

I have gone over all this only in order to explain that I did not wish to speak every day in the debate in order to reply to the arguments advanced by certain delegations. I reserved my right to come back to the question at this meeting, and that is what I have just done, because ultimately this question of numbering is directly related to the order in which we are to vote on the draft resolutions submitted. In fact it is not



necessary to decide whether the text of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708 is or is not the same as the text in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1\*\*.

At any rate, the group of sponsors, of which Algeria is one, addressed a letter to the Secretary-General (A/C.1/1061) which was distributed to all delegations on 14 October 1975, asking that priority be given to the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709, so that it would be voted upon before any other draft resolution on the item entitled "Question of Korea".

Accordingly, I formally make that request for priority to the First Committee, but I should like to offer certain reasons for it.

First of all, with reference to the contents of the draft resolutions, a cursory reading of the two texts reveals an essential difference between them. The draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709 calls upon the General Assembly to take decisions. If it adopts that draft resolution, the Assembly will have defined its position on a number of points which are listed in that draft resolution. The draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708—whether "revised" or not—on the contrary confines itself to expressing wishes and hopes, and appealing to the goodwill of the parties. That is, it is a draft resolution in which the First Committee, and the General Assembly, would take no decision.

We believe, therefore, quite logically, that it is only if the General Assembly refuses to take a decision that it must then afterwards at least express certain wishes—that is to say, only if the General Assembly refuses to adopt the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709, in which it would take decisions, can it then be content with expressing certain hopes. That means, in still more specific language, that the General Assembly must logically first take a decision on the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709 before lowering its sights to the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708, which would at that point represent the lesser of two evils.

I shall conclude by saying that this question of priority would actually not arise if the context in which we discuss this question of Korea was not always marked by certain tensions. In fact, the priority question was settled by the General Committee when it decided to combine under one heading the two items which were presented separately. They referred respectively to the draft resolutions contained in documents A/C.1/L.709 and A/C.1/L.708, followed by the one relating to the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1. The General

Committee and later the General Assembly decided on the order of priorities, by placing first the item relating to the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.709, and the second item contained in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1.

Therefore, I believe that if the First Committee wishes to be consistent with the decision and the attitude which has already been taken by the General Committee and then confirmed by the General Assembly, normally then this should give rise to absolutely no difficulty. But I am formally raising it nevertheless.

Before I commence my statement I should like to appeal to the representative of Saudi Arabia to return to his seat because I am going to address myself to him.

I am most grateful to my friend and colleague Ambassador Baroodi for his having been good enough to return to his seat, because it would have been particularly unpleasant to have to reply to parts of his statement in his absence.

I would have wished to raise this point of order immediately after Ambassador Baroodi's first statement, but in order to be consistent with the commitment I made at the beginning of this meeting I did not wish to create any disturbance in the order in which the Chairman called upon representatives listed to speak before me.

First I should like to tell the representative of Saudi Arabia that I feel both flattered and relieved to see him join me in what he has called an exercise in futility. Certainly I could not find myself in better company. I well know that my logic is at times limited and at times elementary. I know that we still have a great deal to learn from one another, perhaps we more than others, from persons such as Ambassador Baroodi who have a vast culture, almost unlimited knowledge and invaluable experience. That is why we listen with much pleasure and profit to the lessons that all of his statements contain. He gave us one today by recalling that the rule, as well as the practice, in this Organization is to vote on draft resolutions in the order in which they have been submitted and in view of that very simple rule he has called on us not to complicate matters but simply to follow a very simple rule. That was the lesson he gave us, and I continue to believe that it is a very important one. However, in order the better to contribute to our education he should illustrate his lessons with examples. To illustrate the lesson I have just heard I cannot fail to men-

tion the example of what happened last year in this same committee room, in regard to the same debate.

I must recall, not only to my friend Baroody but also to all delegations here present, that last year the problem arose in exactly the reverse order. The group of sponsors which had joined Algeria submitted its draft resolution before the other group of sponsors, and among all those who requested a reversal of the order was our friend, Ambassador Baroody, who with the same verve and the same constancy defended the idea that priority should be given to the draft resolution that had been submitted last.

I must say, furthermore, that he was also followed in that course by the representatives of the sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708. I find myself losing sight of that little logic which I have myself described as limited and elementary. Accordingly I appeal to my colleagues here not to play with very simple rules. Simplicity does not consist in following what one or other of our colleagues tells us. It means being consistent with one's self.

If last year there was a majority in this Committee which felt that priority should be given to a draft resolution which had been submitted after the one which had been deferred, I think that that logic should apply here too. At any rate, even if this reasoning that I have rather clumsily tried to explore is not convincing, I would simply request that my proposal be put to a recorded vote, it being clearly understood that I shall speak later, when and if we discuss the amendment proposed by the representative of Saudi Arabia.

Let me say first that it was not with any great surprise that I listened to the statement made by the representative of Uruguay.

I followed his statement with great attention during the general debate on the question of Korea in the First Committee, and I clearly recall that his statement even elicited the exercise of some rights of reply because, rightly or wrongly, we thought that the representative of Uruguay seemed to be saying that the sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709 were mainly countries which ignored democracy. I know that subsequently he explained what he had meant to say, but whatever our understanding may be of his statements the result is that the representative of Uruguay appears extremely attached to democracy. This is why I believe, in the first place, that a

statement just as he just made does not correspond exactly to what we would call a love of democracy. Secondly, I think that today I am rather unfortunate as regards some of my colleagues who wish to reply to my arguments. Let me defend what I said and since I am now replying to the representative of Uruguay, let me begin with him.

In setting forth my argument for priority for our draft resolution I did not say that the two draft resolutions were contradictory. I said that the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709 requested the General Assembly to reach a decision, whereas the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1 merely expressed hopes. This does not mean that the two texts are contradictory.

Therefore, in the spirit in which you opened this debate and in the spirit of my preliminary statement on the atmosphere which we wished to see prevail here, I would hope, Mr. Chairman, that we could terminate this procedural game which, as our friend Mr. Baroody said, is merely an exercise in futility. Let me at the same time emphasize that the rather difficult atmosphere prevailing in this room is due to the fact that it is a small room, and let me take this opportunity to say that, in view of the suggestion made by the representative of Senegal as well as the one I made myself, we think that this debate should have been held in the General Assembly hall. I think that the technical difficulties could have been overcome and we might have been spared the conditions which you, Mr. Chairman, have also deplored. These are difficult conditions in which our debate is being held.

In conclusion, let me say that I do not wish to prolong the debate on this point, which is, after all, secondary. However, the representative of Uruguay requested the Committee to express its views on the advisability of putting to the vote the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709. I think this should be done immediately, and I would also request that his request be the subject of a recorded vote.

Mr. Chairman, speaking immediately after the representative of Saudi Arabia does not mean that I am going to address him directly. Nevertheless, I should like to give my views about the amendment he has just put before us. But before turning directly to that, with regard to my earlier statement, I should like to add something. I said that I had no luck today because some of my statements had been referred to and distorted by

those who had referred to them. When I spoke earlier and adduced arguments on the question of priority, I referred to what happened last year. But I made a slight mistake, perhaps pardonable, in view of the debates we have always had on the same problem, and those who criticized me for this mistake have not been very generous or even very clear-sighted because it in no way detracts from the validity of my argument.

The example I mentioned from last year, was not on the debate on Korea, but the debate on Cambodia, and it appears that in those two cases we find almost the same countries on either side. I think that this mistake need not have been stressed so much; but the idea I wanted to have prevailed was the important thing. When I spoke of Cambodia and when I speak of it now, I think we all should try to refresh our memory. All of us should try to recall that painful debate we had where the majority which was in favour of the resolution adopted at the time showed so little perspicacity with regard to the development of events—that is pardonable in a certain sense and to a certain extent. But what is not forgivable is to try by distortion to prevent the General Assembly from expressing a will which is in line with realities, to try by procedural procedures, as it were, to prevent certain opinions, certainly well-justified, from being able to prevail in this Assembly.

I do not want to stress vindictively the mistake that was made last year, because a few months later we saw that the General Assembly lost what was perhaps at that time a unique opportunity to play a really useful role, to curtail suffering which had lasted too long and perhaps the General Assembly could have shown a little more pride when this year it received Prince Sihanouk who addressed it as Head of State.

My purpose is not at all to open another debate on Cambodia but rather to stress the analogy between the procedure followed this year and that followed in the Cambodian debate. You will remember I am sure that, first of all, the problem of priority came up. There was a majority in favour of imposing priority for a draft resolution which was not entitled to it in terms of the date of its submission. In the same debate an amendment was proposed, the purpose of which was to attempt to get some additional votes but the ostensible aim of which was to modify the actual substance of the resolution. We have the same situation now, so why not learn from the experience of the past. Why continue this exhausting debate which, in the end, will bring forth a decision which will not enjoy a majority that will really demonstrate the validity of the decision taken,

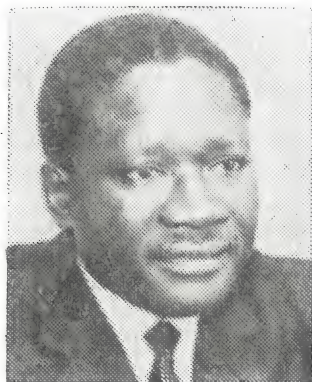
but above all will show that this Assembly is sometimes dominated by majorities. Reference has been made to this and I must say that the tyranny of the majority mentioned a number of times, is perhaps the only thing that has led this Assembly to take sound decisions. The pressure exerted on these delegations, which has become so commonplace that people even dare to talk about it in television interviews, is not a credit either to those who exert the pressure or to those who submit to it. It is to that that I wanted to draw the attention of this Committee.

With regard more specifically to the text of the amendment presented by our friend, Mr. Baroody, I should like to point out that indeed it does completely alter the text of the draft resolution because it deletes any reference to the cancellation of the Armistice Agreement. This means then that it should be prolonged eternally. Then the amendment would have the Assembly call on the parties "to create conditions which will ensure a peaceful transition for a solution on the basis of reunification..." and so on.

But if we read paragraph 3 of the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.709, what do we find?

"Urges the North and the South of Korea"—and I think that these are the parties meant by our friend Mr. Baroody—"to observe the principles of the North-South joint statement and take practical measures for ceasing arms reinforcement, reducing the armed forces of both sides drastically to an equal level, preventing armed conflicts and guaranteeing against the use of force against the other side, and thereby remove the military confrontation and maintain a durable peace in Korea, conducive to accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of the country."

Now what do all these steps represent but measures designed to create conditions guaranteeing the peaceful transition from the present situation to one in which Korea reunified. Why introduce an amendment which would distort the draft resolution into which it is to be inserted and introduce a repetition which is quite gratuitous? For all these reasons and for others which it is not necessary to go into or which other representatives after me will expound, my delegation will vote against this amendment.



## FALL

### Senegal

#### *Speeches Made on October 21*

I must confess that I am not entirely satisfied with the explanation provided by the Secretariat. The Secretariat has told us that the two draft resolutions were submitted before the General Assembly session began, and they say that that is why they do not have on them the dates when they were submitted. That being the case, I think that both draft resolutions should have the same date. Both were submitted before the General Assembly began and therefore the day when the "Question of Korea" was accepted should be the day when the two draft resolutions were recorded and, for that reason, they should have the same date.

It might be that the Secretary could explain that point satisfactorily but, mainly, what I should like to speak about are the amendments. I think there will be some difficulties when the time comes to state our final views on the amendments before us. The rules of procedure do provide for a special voting system for amendments. If the draft resolution, which has been revised in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1, is considered in its present form, then that is a new draft resolution. But if it is the former draft resolution which is amended, then we should first vote on the amendments before voting on the draft resolution itself. That is what our rules of procedure say.

I do not see then how we can get on with this draft resolution which should be viewed as a whole, and in it we do not even see where the French amendments are and we are not able to distinguish what constitutes the original text either. If the co-sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1 wish to keep their original draft, what they have to do is take out the French amendments and have votes on them

first when it comes time to deal with the draft resolution, and then hold a vote on the draft resolution as amended as a whole.

I have asked for the floor merely to say that I do not agree with my neighbour to the left. What I said was based on the rules of procedure, whereas what he said was based on tradition. I believe that we are bound by the rules of procedure and that it is on the basis of those rules that we must conduct our work.

Rule 90 states:

"When an amendment is moved to a proposal, the amendment shall be voted on first."

Therefore, I do not see how we can vote first on the French amendments as they have been incorporated in the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1. That is the only point I wish to make. If it is no longer a question of amendments, then it is a question of a new draft resolution. We must come to an agreement on that.

### *Speech Made on October 28*

Once again we are considering the question of Korea, one of the most onerous legacies, which unfortunately our Organization has not yet been able to settle. Indeed, although almost a quarter century has elapsed since the guns were silenced, the Korean peninsula still remains one of the main hotbeds of tension in the world. The division of the territory imposed on the Korean people immediately after the Second World War has destroyed the unity of the country. Hence, in the course of the past 29 years the Korean people has borne and, as it continues to bear, the painful circumstance of having to live in a homeland arbitrarily cut into two antagonistic entities.

We are sufficiently familiar with this problem for there to be no necessity for me to recall its history. I should nevertheless like to recall that in the course of its twenty-eighth session the General Assembly, with the consent of the two parties concerned, adopted a consensus, in it is stated that:

"...the Reunification of the country should be achieved independently, without reliance upon outside force or its interference;"

and in which the hope is expressed that:

"...the South and the North of Korea will be urged



to continue their dialogue...so as to expedite the independent peaceful reunification of the country." (A/9030,p.24)

Since then the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has not missed any opportunity to express its unswerving desire to achieve the profound and legitimate aspiration of its people. However, we must recognize that the continuance of the dialogue recommended by our Assembly has not taken place, despite the expressed and constant goodwill of the Government and the people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

At its twenty-ninth session the United Nations General Assembly, faced with the opposition of certain delegations at seeing our Organization assume the responsibilities incumbent upon it under the Charter, again limited itself to adopting a resolution reaffirming the wishes expressed in the consensus of 1973 and requesting the two parties to continue their dialogue to expedite the reunification of their country. It must be admitted that such a decision was not likely to lead to positive progress on this question, and we can only deplore the fact that in so doing our Organization has unfortunately missed the opportunity that would have allowed it effectively to assume its responsibilities.

We believe that it is still not too late for the United Nations to understand and recognize the true imperatives of the situation and to adopt once and for all a decision enabling it to find the just and definitive solution to the problem which has been so long and so impatiently awaited.

The responsibilities of our Organization in the Korean crisis are all the more compelling in that the most serious obstacle to the establishment of a climate of peace in that country seems to be the presence there of foreign troops under the United Nations flag. That is why we believe that any valid solution to the Korean problem must inevitably take account of what it has been found convenient so far to call the question of the United Nations Command, whose presence in that region maintains the tension which the United Nations has largely contributed to creating and perpetuating by supporting military intervention as inopportune as it is illegal.

My delegation therefore believes that the fundamental problem of the Korean question remains closely connected with the fate of the United Nations Command, particularly the manner in which it is to be dissolved. We know full well that certain delegations advance the argument according to which the dissolution of the United Nations Command in Korea would constitute a violation of the terms of the 1953 Armistice Agree-

ment and endanger the military balance in the region, thus threatening peace and security in the peninsula. And yet, no one is unaware at present of the fact that the so-called United Nations Command in Korea is nothing but a fiction designed to mask the presence of foreign occupation troops stationed in that country under the United Nations flag.

The members of this Committee will recall that last year during a debate on this same subject a number of speakers put pertinent questions to the Secretariat on the composition and functioning of that Command and its eventual integration with the units of the Eighth Army of the American military forces. The reply of the Secretariat of the United Nations made the situation even more confused. In effect, we were told that:

"The various reports submitted by the United States on behalf of the United Nations Command contain no information on specific questions such as the total number of the various units, the exact number and nationality of the officers and their rank. That information could be obtained only by applying to official sources in the United States of America."

Such a reply shows quite clearly that the forces stationed in Korea under the United Nations flag are not United Nations troops and that their presence was in no way a necessity for our Organization; it only perpetuates a military presence which at present constitutes a major obstacle to the continuance of a dialogue between the North and the South.

True, we do agree that the United Nations has a role to play in the maintenance of peace and security in all parts of the world. But with respect to the specific case of Korea, members will agree that in the light of the information available to us, our Organization must condemn this unlawful and outdated situation, which is nothing more than a usurpation of the authority of the United Nations and a flagrant violation of the fundamental principles enshrined in our Charter.

The profound desire for the reunification of the Korean people is made manifest in all the acts of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which has unremittingly continued its struggle for independence and national unity. It is in this context that it was led to propose to the Government of South Korea in 1972 the opening of a dialogue which was to lead to the signing of a Joint Communiqué between the North and the South on 4 July of that same year on the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea. That Communiqué, which was a most positive and sincere act aiming

at the reunification of Korea in peace and national concord, was possible only because the two parties acted independently and without foreign interference.

The Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972 laid stress on the need to create a climate of confidence between the two parties "in order to restore severed national ties, promote mutual understanding and to expedite independent peaceful unification" of the country. Since then the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has not taken any initiative not in keeping with the principles of the Joint Communiqué.

Thus, in June 1973, President Kim Il Sung proposed a five-point programme advocating the establishment of a North-South confederation under the single name of the Confederal Republic of Koryo. One of the previous speakers in this Committee this morning compared the two Koreas in order to show us that coexistence between them was almost impossible. And yet if there is one point on which the two parties appear to be in agreement at present, at least with respect to their declarations and intentions, it is in the desire for peaceful reunification.

The North-South Confederation, as advocated by the President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, should leave intact, during a transitional period to be determined by common agreement, the existing Governments of the present régimes, and would be responsible mainly for co-ordinating matters affecting the two countries. Thus there is no question of asking the peoples of South Korea to adhere against their will to the communist ideology of the northern part of Korea. No proposal could be more faithful to the spirit and letter of the principles set forth in the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972.

My delegation considers the proposals of North Korea to be highly constructive because they are objective and seek the peaceful reunification of Korea, which the two parties declare it is their most ardent desire to achieve. We believe that the only way to achieve a normal dialogue between North and South Korea is to invite the two parties concerned to discuss the matter without ulterior motives or outside constraint; similarly, it is not possible to advocate the conclusion of a peace treaty for Korea while stating that the transformation of the Armistice Agreement into a peace treaty would threaten the military balance, and hence the security of the region.

In this connexion, I believe that we should further make it clear that the aim must be to transform, and not merely do away with, the Armistice Agreement, which by definition is a

provisional instrument. One of the speakers this morning went so far as to tell us that an armistice agreement is an instrument of war. In any case it cannot be maintained, as some have stated here, that there will be any legal vacuum during that stage of the negotiations. Moreover, we find it difficult to understand the reasons for such apprehensions when they come from those who support the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1, known as the South Korea draft resolution, when we remember that last year, in the course of the discussion on this same question, a speaker referred to statements by competent United States and South Korean authorities according to which "the armed forces of the Republic of Korea are the fourth strongest in the world, preceded only by those of the United States, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China".

What is there to fear, what has such a country so strongly armed to fear from an adversary whose present or potential strength can never reach such levels?

One of the sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1 admitted this morning that the presence of foreign troops in Korea was not normal, but he justified it on the grounds that the question of Korea itself was not a normal question. I leave it to the members of the Committee to judge the validity of that argument.

The international community, by welcoming with satisfaction the dialogue between North and South Korea, was under the impression that the role of the United Nations should be to assist in the realization of the aspirations freely expressed by the interested parties, and that is why we still believe that the holding of a dialogue between the North and the South, without foreign interference, is the only course which the United Nations should invite the two parties to take in order to find a solution to their problems.

My delegation, for its part, is well aware that that should be the conclusion of the present debate in this Committee.

We have two draft resolutions with which to conclude our debate on the question of Korea. One draft submitted by a group of countries in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1, merely expresses pious hopes for the dissolution as soon as possible of the United Nations Command, without including any specific mention of the final conclusion of a peace agreement.

It is, incidentally, significant that this draft resolution should have been submitted to our Committee by the delegation of Japan, because the members of this Committee will re-

member that Japan occupied Korea for some time as a colonial Power.

The other draft resolution that in document A/C.1/L.709, submitted by another group of countries, including Senegal, while emphasizing the need to dissolve the United Nations Command in Korea, also clearly states that it is indispensable that all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag be withdrawn, and requests that the Armistice Agreement be transformed—I repeat, transformed—into a peace agreement with the consent of the parties concerned. Moreover, it advocates a series of positive measures designed to eliminate tension, to prevent armed conflicts between the North and the South, and to promote the normalization of the situation.

The interest of this draft lies especially in the fact that it proposes constructive solutions and does not gloss over any aspect of the question. The establishment of a durable peace in Korea calls in fact for the solution of two problems: on the one hand, the transformation of the Armistice Agreement into a peace agreement, a matter which should be settled by the two signatories to that Armistice Agreement, that is to say the United States of America and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, since the other parties withdrew, and in particular the People's Republic of China; and, on the other hand, the beginning of the process of reunification of Korea, which is a matter to be settled exclusively by the North and the South, without outside interference of any kind.

I believe that with such proposals no one can say in good faith that the sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709 are unaware of the *de facto* existence of South Korea.

The Korean problem has acquired new dimensions since an authorized spokesman of the Government of the United States of America declared last June that that super-Power might be called upon to use atomic weapons to ensure the protection of its interests in that part of the world. The United Nations should not remain indifferent to that warning since its responsibilities in the unleashing of the Korean crisis are undeniable. It is therefore the duty of the United Nations carefully to consider this problem, the already disquieting consequences of which could create tensions fraught with grave dangers for the future.

The Korean people hunger for unity and peace. They have suffered too much from the war. They want peace, total peace,

both on the battlefield and in their hearts. Like all the other peoples of the world, they want to devote their natural resources and the fruits of their labour to the economic and social development of their country. The road that could lead to the achievement of that legitimate aspiration is clearly traced. It is the path of reunification in peace and national concord. The United Nations must help the Korean people to embark resolutely and irreversibly on that course. Undoubtedly this is the only way our Organization can obtain forgiveness, before it is too late for a mistake, not to say a crime, committed in its name a quarter of a century ago, for which, morally if not materially, it still bears the heavy responsibility. It is this that the authors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709 ask.

### *Speeches Made on October 29*

You are quite right, Mr. Chairman, to have convened the meeting of this Committee for this afternoon. It seems that we have ample time, because our debate can go on till 10 o'clock tomorrow morning, though not beyond that. At the rate we are going, my impression is that we shall not have finished by 10 o'clock tomorrow morning. It seemed to me that the representative of Algeria, speaking on a point of order, asked for the closure of the debate and an immediate vote. There is a rule in the rules of procedure which provides for this, and if the representative of Algeria does not confirm that he asked for the closure of the debate then my delegation will ask you to close it under rule 117 so that we can finish with this procedural question. We have enough items to consider this afternoon, which may extend into the night, so let us not dwell on a question which is a purely procedural matter.

I have no objection to your calling on the two speakers who are on the list, but I would then request that you place me as the third speaker on your list, to speak on the substance.

In the course of our debate the other day, I raised a point concerning the amendments of France; my delegation has studied them very carefully and I emphasized that a vote on the amendments, or rather a vote on draft resolution A/C.1/L.708

could create problems for us, if we were to proceed to that draft resolution as submitted in its revision 1\*\*.

In accordance with the rules of procedure of our Committee, when an amendment is added to an initial proposal, the amendment must be voted on before we vote on the initial proposal. Now, from the debate of our Committee it is clear that the amendments were submitted by France and it was not a new text. This is what we understood: it is not a new text but an amended text, and therefore retained its priority from the point of view of the debate.

I therefore request that we have a vote, as is provided for in rule 131 of the rules of procedure, that is to say, that we first vote on the amendments of France, and then, vote on the text; as will also happen at the time when we shall have to pronounce ourselves on draft resolution A/C.1/L.709, and the amendment presented by Ambassador Baroody.

I have before me a document which carries the symbol A/C.1/L.710 and which is entitled: "France, amendments to the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708."

Therefore, there is a document which is an amendment to the French draft.

I should like to know what has become of that document because, in my opinion, when a document is submitted officially to the Committee, it does not belong any more to the authors but it is a document that belongs to the Committee. I should like to ask the Legal Counsel what he thinks of that question. I do not wish, Mr. President, to compel you to make a ruling, but I should like to have the opinion of the Legal Counsel.

I did not ask for the authorization of my friend from the Ivory Coast when I put this matter to the Legal Counsel. I should like to know whether when a document has been submitted to our Committee, it can be manipulated without a decision by this Committee? If the reply is affirmative then I will say no more and I shall ask that we vote on the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1 and that we take a separate vote on each of its four operative paragraphs.

I am surprised and I am particularly concerned by the

statement made by the representative of Uruguay. He said that the adoption of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1 excludes the adoption of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709, and the basis of his argument rests on the fact that the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709 requests the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea: in other words—and I believe that those who voted for the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1 would also be somewhat concerned about this—that the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1 specifically requests the maintenance of troops in Korea. If the request in our draft resolution for the withdrawal of these troops runs counter to the other draft resolution, there can be no doubt that the representative of Uruguay, in voting for the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1, voted for the maintenance of these foreign troops in Korea. I do not think that is the spirit in which the majority voting in favour of that resolution cast their vote, even if the representative of Uruguay cast his vote for that reason.

This is why I think the Committee should be asked to express its views with regard to whether we should reject or accept the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709.





## HUANG HUA

China

*Speech Made on October 21*

First of all, the Chinese delegation wishes to express warm welcome to the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea which is participating in the debate on the Korean question at the current session of the General Assembly. In his speech Chairman Li Jong Mok has given a profound exposition of the crux of the Korean question and the way to a fundamental solution of the problem. His speech has expressed the true aspiration of the entire Korean people and is conducive to a settlement of the Korean question. The Chinese delegation firmly supports it.

In his speech at the plenary meeting of the current session of the General Assembly, the Chairman of the Chinese delegation already stated in detail our principled position on the Korean question. Now I would like to comment on some of the questions involved in the two draft resolutions before us.

The history of the Korean question over the past nearly three decades has irrefutably proved that the division of Korea and the tension there were caused from the outset by the United States imperialist aggression and intervention in Korea. After World War II the United States has occupied south Korea, interfered in the Korean internal affairs and obstructed the reunification of Korea. In 1950, United States troops invaded Korea under the United Nations flag. Since the Korean armistice in 1953, they have been hanging on in south Korea, refusing to withdraw therefrom. Herein lies the root cause why the Korean question has thus far remained unsettled and why the Korean peninsula is still in a state of artificial division.

Over a long period the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has upheld its correct stand for the in-

dependent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland, demanding the cessation of aggression and intervention in Korea by outside force and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from south Korea, and it has put forward a series of positive and reasonable propositions and proposals to this effect. The three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity and the 5-point proposition for the prevention of a national split and the realization of the peaceful reunification of the fatherland put forward by President Kim Il Sung have clearly pointed to the correct road for the reunification of Korea and have received the firm support of the entire Korean people and the broad endorsement of the people of various countries.

The consensus adopted by the twenty-eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly has affirmed the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity, dissolved the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea", which was a tool for interfering in the internal affairs of Korea, and thus welcome progress has been achieved. Now there is an ever more resounding voice in the world demanding the dissolution of the United Nations Command and the withdrawal of the United States troops stationed in south Korea. The United Nations should make a positive response and speedily correct all the mistakes it committed on the Korean question so as to create favourable conditions for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

This year, compelled by the prevailing situation, the United States and other countries put forward a draft resolution on the Korean question. This draft resolution professes a preparedness to terminate the United Nations Command and even puts forward a specific date for its dissolution. But in effect it evades the crucial issue of the withdrawal of the United States troops stationed in south Korea under the flag of the United Nations. This shows that its purpose is none other than to use the dissolution of the United Nations Command as a pretence in exchange for the legalization of the presence of United States troops in south Korea and the creation of "two Koreas". The repeated United States attempt to thrust the Pak Jung Hi clique of south Korea into the United Nations is part and parcel of this scheme. The United States Government openly declared that after the dissolution of the United Nations Command United States troops would remain in south Korea in accordance with the so-called US-ROK Treaty. The United States draft resolution also requires the United States and the Pak Jung Hi clique

of south Korea, which is not a signatory to the Armistice Agreement, to take over the so-called responsibilities of the United Nations Command. Judging from the above ideas in combination, is it not crystal clear that the United States is bent on legalizing the presence of United States troops in south Korea and on creating "two Koreas"? No matter how it may be prettified, such a draft resolution, which can in no way lead to a peaceful settlement of the Korean question but can only aggravate the division and tension in Korea, is absolutely unacceptable to us and all other peace-loving and justice-upholding countries. As for the amended United States draft resolution, it has not in the least changed the fundamental essence of the original United States draft resolution but only adds some cosmetics to it. Certainly this is of no avail and has no value at all.

In contrast to the draft resolution submitted by the United States and other countries, the draft resolution submitted by Algeria and 41 other countries entitled "Creation of favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea" reflects the present situation on the Korean peninsula and the needs of our time. This is a draft resolution that is really capable of solving the problem.

The so-called United Nations Command should have been dissolved long ago. From the very day of its formation it has been a downright tool for aggression. Over the past 25 years the United States alone has controlled this "Command" with the blessing of the illegal resolution adopted by the Security Council when it was under United States manipulation. Under the signboard of the "United Nations Command", the United States has all along stationed its troops in south Korea, which have incessantly carried out armed provocations and military manoeuvres. With the abetment and support of the United States, the ruling clique of south Korea has wantonly pushed the policy of national division and stepped up its brutal repression of the people in south Korea, who demand national reunification and strive for democratic rights. It even clamoured for war and "reunification by prevailing over communism." Such is the root cause of the prolonged tension on the Korean peninsula and the basic obstacle to the reunification of Korea. Now that 22 years have elapsed since the Korean armistice and 17 years since the withdrawal of the Chinese People's Volunteers from Korea, what reason is there for United States troops to continue to hang on in south Korea? The dissolution of the so-called United Nations Command must be settled together with the withdrawal

of United States troops from south Korea, and the two must not be separated. Otherwise, the mere dissolution of the United Nations Command with the continued presence of United States troops in south Korea will be of no help whatsoever to the promotion of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea and the relaxation of tension on the Korean peninsula. Therefore we firmly maintain that the so-called United Nations Command must be dissolved and United States troops must be withdrawn from south Korea. The Korean question should be settled by the Korean people themselves free from any outside interference.

The United States openly declared that in order to preserve the Armistice Agreement, the United States troops must not withdraw. This is a pretext that is utterly indefensible. It should be noted that the Armistice Agreement is but a provisional arrangement for the cessation of hostilities and not an agreement to ensure peace. One may ask: Should Korea remain forever in such a most abnormal state of armistice? It is absolutely impermissible to impose such an abnormal state of affairs on the Korean people forever. The United States representative's idea for the United States and the south Korean authorities to propose to the parties of the Armistice the convening of a conference to discuss ways to preserve the Armistice Agreement and the exploration at such a conference of the possibility of a larger conference to negotiate a more fundamental arrangement is of no avail and completely impractical. As a matter of fact, back in 1954 the United States single-handedly slammed the door to a political conference at a higher level on the Korean question as provided for in the Armistice Agreement. In the actual prevailing circumstances, the practical way is for the real parties to the Korean Armistice Agreement to negotiate and sign a peace agreement to replace the Armistice Agreement. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has long expressed its readiness to enter into negotiations with the United States as a signatory to the Armistice Agreement to conclude a peace agreement to replace the Armistice Agreement. Such a most reasonable proposal is also contained in the draft resolution submitted by Algeria and other countries. If the United States really desires to solve the problem, there is no reason whatsoever for it not to respond positively to the reasonable proposal of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the conclusion of a peace agreement to replace the Armistice Agreement and the withdrawal of the United States troops stationed in south Korea under the flag of the United Nations. Neverthe-

less, the United States is now repeatedly harping on the continued "preservation" of the Armistice Agreement. Does this not fully reveal its true intent of refusing to withdraw its troops and continuing to interfere in the internal affairs of Korea?

Moreover, the United States openly asserts that the presence of United States troops in south Korea is for the maintenance of the so-called "balance of force" on the Korean peninsula. This is all the more a downright deception. As is known to all, at present there are no foreign troops at all in north Korea, whereas in south Korea, apart from the armed forces of the south Korean ruling clique itself, which have exceeded those in the northern part, large numbers of United States troops have been stationed and even United States nuclear weapons have been blatantly deployed. How can there be any so-called balance of force? On the contrary, it is precisely the presence of large numbers of United States troops in south Korea and the United States policy of actively modernizing the puppet troops of the Pak Jung Hi clique that have created a grave menace to the security of the northern part of Korea. The continued presence of United States troops in south Korea, under whatever name, contravenes the principles of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea and will only aggravate the tension on the Korean peninsula. All the more so since the north and south of Korea issued a joint statement on 4 July 1972 undertaking to refrain from armed provocations and prevent military conflicts. So long as the Pak Jung Hi clique strictly observes this joint statement and ceases its sabotage, peace in Korea can be assured. Since both north and south Korea have agreed on the mutual non-use of force and on reunification by peaceful means, why should it be impossible for some necessary measures to be agreed on to solve this problem, pending peaceful reunification? To assert that a war will break out in Korea in the absence of the Armistice Agreement is in fact not only designed to create something sensational, but exactly serves to prove that the United States has no sincere desire at all to withdraw the United States troops and promote the peaceful reunification of Korea. It is precisely in view of all this that the draft resolution submitted by Algeria and other countries urges the north and south of Korea to observe the principles of the North-South joint statement and take practical measures for ceasing arms reinforcement, reducing the armed forces of both sides drastically to an equal level, preventing armed conflicts and guaranteeing against the use of force against the other side, and thereby remove the military confrontation. This

has reflected the desire of the Korean people and all the people in the world who are concerned about peace in Korea.

Since last spring, under the impact of the great victory of the Indochinese peoples, the United States has tightened its control over Northeast Asia, endlessly repeating the myth of a so-called "threat of a southward invasion from the north" deliberately concocted by the Pak Jung Hi clique, creating an atmosphere of war and even wielding nuclear weapons for nuclear blackmail. Taking advantage of all this, the Pak Jung Hi clique issued a succession of so-called "emergency laws", and stepping up its brutal repression of the people in south Korea, the Pak Jung Hi clique carried out frenzied war preparations as though confronted by a formidable enemy, so much so that the whole of south Korea was haunted by the horror of war for a time. However, such artificial tension was soon seen through, and the attempt of the United States and the Pak Jung Hi clique to justify the continued presence of United States troops in south Korea and to perpetuate the division of Korea has thus been laid bare. If there is a danger of war on the Korean peninsula, it can only originate from the Pak Jung Hi clique which is clamouring for war with United States support and abetment, and absolutely not from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea which insists on independent and peaceful reunification.

The just stand of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has received not only the support of the entire Korean people but also the extensive favourable response of the whole world. The support of the people of all countries for the Korean people's struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland has already become an irresistible current, whereas the traitorous Pak Jung Hi clique, which has hired itself out to imperialism and sold out the national interests and is engaged in national division, finds itself in ever greater isolation beset with trouble both at home and abroad. All its attempts to squeeze its way into the United Nations or the non-aligned movement have met with complete failure.

The affairs of the people of various countries should be managed by the people of the countries concerned, and the Korean people's affairs should be managed by the Korean people themselves. The reunification of Korea should be realized by the Korean people themselves free from any outside interference. All artificially divided countries will eventually realize their national reunification—this is the general trend and popular demand. Those who try to obstruct such an irresistible current will only end up disgracefully like the grasshopper in the fable

which tried to stop the chariot. Has not the victory of the Indo-chinese peoples provided a convincing proof for this fact? We are deeply convinced that with the sympathy and support of the people of all countries, the entire heroic Korean people, persevering in struggle, will do away with the interference of any outside force and victoriously achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of their country.

China and Korea are neighbours, as closely related as the lips and the teeth, and the Chinese and Korean peoples are close comrades-in-arms fighting shoulder to shoulder. We firmly support the Korean people in their struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland, and we resolutely oppose the interference by outside force in the internal affairs of Korea and the creation of "two Koreas". We are convinced that the draft resolution submitted by Algeria and other countries has provided a practical and effective formula for ceasing the interference by outside force, promoting the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea and eliminating the tension on the Korean peninsula. Together with the other co-sponsors of this draft resolution, we hope that the current session of the General Assembly will seriously consider and adopt it, thus enabling the United Nations to correct the mistakes it committed on the Korean question when it was under the exclusive manipulation of imperialism and make positive contributions to the promotion of the Korean people's sacred cause of the independent and peaceful reunification of their country.

### *Speeches Made on October 29*

On behalf of the Chinese delegation I wish first of all to speak on the priority of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709.

At the meeting of the General Committee on 19 September, it was decided to list the proposal of Algeria and other countries as subitem (a) of item 119 for priority consideration. At the same meeting, the General Committee decided to list the proposal of the United States and other countries as subitem (b) of item 119. This decision of the General Committee has already been formally approved by the General Assembly.

Therefore the question of the priority of the two proposals has long been determined by decisions of the General Committee and the General Assembly. The First Committee should consider and vote with priority upon the draft resolution submitted

by Algeria and other countries in the determined order. There should have been no problem at all in this respect. Yet some representatives have gone so far as to demand priority for the draft resolution submitted by the United States and other countries. This is a procedural manoeuvre in complete disregard and distortion of the decisions of the General Committee and the General Assembly. We are categorically opposed to it.

Those representatives have asked for priority voting on the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1 which has been listed under subitem (b) of item 119 as decided by the General Committee and the General Assembly. The reason they give is completely untenable. The draft resolution of the United States and other countries contained in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1 was introduced on 10 October after amendment. And the original draft resolution, contained in document A/10142 dated 27 June, has been amended and no longer exists.

It is preposterous indeed to change the date by describing something which happened on 10 October as having existed back on 27 June. This is a forced argument. The question is very simple—whether, according to the decision adopted by the General Committee and the General Assembly, or according to the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, the Algerian draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.709 should be voted upon with priority. To this end, the Algerian representative formerly proposed on 18 September, on behalf of all the co-sponsors, that priority should be given to their draft resolution. This is entirely reasonable. The Chinese delegation supports it. We request that the Committee consider and take a vote first on the Algerian formal motion.

As to the lengthy statement made by the Saudi Arabian representative on questions beyond the procedure, that is, his amendment to the Algerian draft, I am not prepared to deal with it now. I shall speak on it at the appropriate time. I hope that the Saudi Arabian representative himself will be present if he is serious and responsible.

The Chinese delegation would like to state its views on the Saudi Arabian amendment. It is entirely unjustifiable for the Saudi Arabian amendment to change the wording of “the real parties to the Armistice Agreement” contained in the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709 into “the parties to the Armistice Agreement”. As is known to all, the Pak Jung Hi cli-



que of south Korea is not at all a signatory to the Armistice Agreement. What is more, the then parties to the Korean Armistice Agreement have now changed a great deal. The present reality is that United States troops are still occupying south Korea and are in actual control of the south Korean authorities. In the interest of a real settlement of the question, the logical approach under the present circumstances is for the real parties to the Korean Armistice Agreement, namely, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States, to enter into negotiations and conclude a peace agreement to replace the Armistice Agreement. The Saudi Arabian amendment has not only misinterpreted "the real parties" in an impractical way but also completely evaded the important issue of the signing of a peace agreement to replace the Armistice Agreement. One may ask: in the absence of a peace agreement and under the continued perpetuation of the United States troops' occupation of south Korea, how can there be a "peaceful transition" to the unification of Korea? Evidently, no matter what nice language the author of the amendment may use, its basic idea is to castrate the essence of the draft resolution of Algeria and other countries. Instead of ensuring peace on the Korean peninsula, its purpose is to prolong the unstable state of armistice and thus to perpetuate the division of Korea and aggravate the tension on the Korean peninsula. In a word, this amendment runs diametrically counter to the fundamental goal of the creation of favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea and is, therefore, completely unacceptable. The new Saudi Arabian amendment does not in the slightest change the real intention of the original amendment and, therefore, it needs no additional comment at all.

Mr. Chairman, I think all of us have listened with great patience to Mr. Baroody's statement on his amendment. As we may recall, a moment ago the Chairman already announced that we have entered the stage of voting. According to rule 128 of the rules of procedure, "After the Chairman has announced the beginning of voting, no representative shall interrupt the voting except on a point of order in connexion with the actual conduct of the voting. The Chairman may permit members to explain their votes, either before or after the voting...". We hope that all the representatives will respect the decision of the Chairman and rule 128 of the rules of procedure. We hope that this hall should

be used as a conference hall of the United Nations and not as anyone's house for chatting.

Mr. Chairman, the Chinese delegation requests, with regard to the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709, that a roll-call vote be taken.

I had no intention to speak. But having heard the statement of the United States representative before the voting, I cannot but make a reply. The time is late, and I shall be brief in my reply.

It is completely futile for the United States representative to confound black and white and tamper with the history of the Korean war. The people of the world are aware that it is none other than the then United States administration that instigated the Syngman Rhee puppet clique of south Korea to launch attacks on the north of Korea. The situation in the United Nations at that time was such that the People's Republic of China was deprived of its lawful rights in the United Nations and that the majority of the third world countries were in a colonial and semi-colonial status of powerlessness. It was in these circumstances that the United States administration manipulated an artificial majority in the United Nations, usurped the name of the United Nations to send United States troops for large-scale aggression against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and massacred the Korean people. It was the United States troops which have usurped the name of the United Nations for aggression against Korea that are still occupying south Korea and refusing to quit. The debate in the First Committee has fully borne out this fact. No amount of flowery language can tamper with this historical fact.

Secondly, the proposal just made by the representative of Sweden should not be put to the vote in the present conditions of the First Committee.

### *Speech Made on November 18*

After a long and serious debate and after overcoming all kinds of disturbances, the current session of the General Assembly has finally adopted the draft resolution submitted by Algeria and 42 other countries by a majority of 54 to 43. This is an important step taken by the United Nations in the right direction towards the settlement of the Korean question. This

is a victory of the just struggle of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the entire Korean people, who have long pursued the cause of the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland, as well as a common victory of the people of the third-world countries, who support each other and fight in unity. We sincerely rejoice at this.

The 43-nation resolution adopted by the General Assembly has set forth the correct and effective propositions for the settlement of the Korean question. The resolution clearly provides that it is necessary to dissolve the "United Nations Command" and withdraw all the foreign troops stationed in south Korea under the flag of the United Nations and that the real parties to the Armistice Agreement should be called upon to replace the Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement; it urges the north and the south of Korea to observe the principles of the North-South joint statement and take practical measures for preventing armed conflicts and guaranteeing against the use of force against the other side. These important measures stipulated in the resolution are aimed at terminating foreign interference, removing tension and creating favourable conditions for accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. This fully conforms to the urgent desire of the Korean people for the independent and peaceful reunification of their country, reflects the current situation in the Korean peninsula and the rest of Asia and the needs of our time and is conducive to the fundamental improvement of the situation in the Korean peninsula and North-east Asia. We maintain that all the above important provisions of the resolution must be implemented without delay and in a comprehensive way.

The draft resolution of the United States and others made no mention whatsoever of the vital issue of the withdrawal of United States troops from south Korea. On the contrary, during the debate the United States representative has gone so far as to declare that less than 300 of the United States troops stationed in south Korea belong to the United Nations Command, that the remaining 40,000 and more United States troops are present in south Korea in accordance with the so-called "U.S.-ROK" treaty, and that therefore they are not bound by the resolution. This is a downright sophistry which is completely untenable. As is known to all, all the United States troops have been introduced into south Korea under the United Nations flag. Up till September 1974, the United States representative had declared at the meetings of the Korean Military Armistice Commission that United States troops were stationed

in south Korea as United Nations forces. A few days thereafter the United States side abruptly changed its tune by saying that the 40,000 and more United States troops were stationed in south Korea in accordance with the so-called "U.S.-ROK bilateral defence arrangement". The United States tries to alter the fact that the United States troops are stationed in south Korea as United Nations forces by means of removing its "helmet". But how can it succeed? It must be noted that the Armistice Agreement, which the United States has kept on declaring its intention of preserving, explicitly provides for "ceasing the introduction into Korea of reinforcing military personnel" except for the rotation of the United Nations forces then in south Korea "on a man-for-man basis". One may ask: Do the so-called United States troops not belonging to the United Nations Command fall from heaven? Furthermore, the Korean Armistice Agreement has affirmed the principle of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea. The sophistry on the part of the United States precisely shows that it has violated the Armistice Agreement which it declares it wants to preserve and that it has contravened the basic principles of the United Nations Charter. The United States tries to justify the presence of United States troops in south Korea with the above sophistry. This is of course absolutely impermissible.

As we have pointed out on many occasions, the prolonged refusal of United States troops to quit south Korea is the root cause of the present tension in the Korean peninsula as well as the main obstacle to the realization of independent and peaceful reunification by the Korean people. The purpose of the draft resolution of the United States and others is none other than to use the dissolution of the United Nations Command as a pretence in exchange for the legalization of the perpetual presence of United States troops in south Korea and the continued creation of "two Koreas". In fact, the "U.N. Command" has long become the "U.S. Command" in every sense. Evidently, the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Command must be settled together with the withdrawal of United States troops from south Korea, and the two must not be separated. The use of any pretext to justify the continued presence of United States troops in south Korea is in violation of the principle of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea which has been confirmed by the General Assembly. It is only natural that the delegations of many countries firmly oppose such a resolution that openly encourages the United States to forcibly station its troops in south Korea, continue to interfere in Korea's internal

affairs, divide the Korean nation and create "two Koreas". In our view, as the resolution submitted by Algeria and 42 other nations has been formally adopted by the General Assembly, the United States draft resolution is certainly of no value and completely null and void.

The Korean people are the masters of Korea. The Korean question must be settled by the Korean people themselves free from any outside interference. The prolonged United States military aggression and gross intervention in Korea by illegally usurping the name of the United Nations have evoked the strong opposition of the entire Korean people and the people of the world. The obstinate United States procrastination of a settlement of the Korean question will only land itself in a more passive and isolated position. It must be pointed out that all artificially divided countries will eventually realize their national reunification. This is the general trend and popular demand, which no force on earth can frustrate. We are deeply convinced that with the support of the world people, the entire Korean people will do away with interference by outside force and realize the independent and peaceful reunification of their country. The Chinese people will as always fight shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal Korean people and support them in their just struggle until final victory.



## **SIBAHI**

### **Syrian Arab Republic**

*Speech Made on October 21*

At the outset allow me to welcome the presence among us of Mr. Li Jong Mok, Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and the members of his delegation. His presence in the First Committee as an observer has been acclaimed by the Syrian delegation, in the hope that he will soon occupy the permanent seat that rightfully belongs to his country, a friend of Syria, not here in the First Committee, but in the General Assembly itself.

As shown in the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709, dated 24 September, the Syrian Arab Republic is one of its sponsors. This position of Syria, which has been firmly maintained by my delegation, reflects the position of my country regarding the Korean question. It is also justified by the principles of the United Nations Charter and by the doctrine of non-alignment, principles to which the Syrian Arab Republic has adhered since the San Francisco Conference in 1945, right through to the Bandung Conference in 1955, and that position remains unchanged today. Syria's position is accordingly based on the following considerations.

First, our position is based on the sacred and inalienable right of peoples to independence and national sovereignty, on which the draft resolution I have mentioned is based, particularly in its preamble, which states:

“...it conforms with the principles of the Charter to encourage the Korean people to achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of their country at the earliest possible date on the basis of the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity and to create favourable conditions for it.”

This right of course includes the various political, economic and social lines and objectives pursued in bilateral, multilateral and international relations. Secondly, it is based on the universally accepted right of peoples to self-determination, freely and democratically to be the masters of their own fate. This thesis is also enshrined in the preamble, which recalls the principles of equality and self-determination of peoples. Thirdly, it is also based on the principle of respect for the sovereignty of other States and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States. That prohibition finds broad expression in the document before us, particularly when it recalls the obligation assumed by States under the Charter to refrain from intervening in matters which are within the domestic jurisdiction of another State.

My delegation considers that the following document should be the basis for a just and lasting solution to the Korean question: the North-South Joint Communiqué on Korea of 4 July 1972. That statement was furthermore welcomed by the General Assembly in the decision it adopted on 28 November 1973 during its twenty-eighth session, for the simple reason that it would promote the independent achievement of reunification without relying upon outside force or being subjected to outside interference; the application of peaceful means without recourse to the use of force and the achievement, under the political entity of a confederated Republic of Korea, of the great union of a homogeneous nation, without distinction of ideologies, ideals or régimes.

Who among us could fail to see in that statement the desirable solution to the Korean question? But above and beyond all, my delegation believes that in South Korea, at the same time as in the North, we must create a genuine atmosphere of confidence and goodwill. This of necessity requires, *a priori*, complete and unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in South Korea and particularly the military elements of the United States of America which claim to represent United Nations forces while they represent only American designs at the expense of the principle of the sacred right of the Korean people to sovereignty, independence and self-determination, which are universally recognized by the entire world.

My delegation is convinced that the withdrawal of the foreign troops thus introduced would *a priori* promote the conclusion of a peace agreement which would obviously replace the Armistice Agreement concluded on 27 July 1953. Will America yield to the almost world-wide demand that it withdraw? My delegation believes that those responsible for American policy

are far from such a position, and that is justified by the unconditional support channelled by the United States of America to Zionism through its spoilt child, Israel, to racism in Rhodesia and Namibia through Pretoria and Salisbury and to neo-colonialism in other oppressed regions of the world. How else can we interpret the American occupation of South Korea for more than 30 years? How can we interpret the introduction into South Korea and Israel of deadly weapons and guided missiles of various kinds? It is the intention of the United States to introduce into Israel, following the second Sinai Disengagement Agreement, signed on 1 September 1975 by Israel and Egypt, as they have already introduced into Korea, rockets, atomic guns and guided missiles. On 20 June 1975 the Director of the United States Defense Information Center declared:

**"The nuclear warheads deployed in South Korea are applicable to missiles, guns, mines... and many of these nuclear warheads are deployed near the military demarcation line bordering on North Korea."**

In accordance with information recently published, the United States Defense Department has submitted to the American Congress a plan to give South Korea 60 of the most modern fighter planes with a value of \$205 million. The United States and South Korea agreed on this in advance.

The United States has proclaimed South Korea to be a forward defence line and openly threatens the Democratic People's Republic of Korea by spreading nuclear weapons.

At a press conference on 20 June the United States Secretary for Defense cynically stated that the United States would not hesitate to use nuclear weapons in Korea. The United States is still increasing the number of troops occupying South Korea and the South Korean army constantly carries out armed provocations of different kinds against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in violation of the Armistice Agreement.

Should we not in this case, in regard to such intervention on the part of those responsible for American policy, conclude that the opposite draft resolution submitted by the representative of Japan this morning, and contained in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1 dated 14 October 1975, is far from contributing to the solution desired by two thirds of the Members of the United Nations?

Furthermore, the South Korean régime, with its imperialist tendencies, which has always opposed the just causes of the peoples of the third world, carries out a reactionary policy inside and outside the country. The South Korean authorities have al-



lowed their troops to approach the frontiers of Cambodia so as constantly to threaten the people of Cambodia fighting imperialist foreign aggression. Since March 1970 they have given active support to the reactionary régime of Lon Nol.

In connivance with Israel, those same authorities opposed and continue to oppose the just cause of the Arab peoples. In the Middle East wars of 1956 and 1967 they declared that they would send volunteers to Israel to support it. In 1967, when the Middle East war was at its worst, a correspondent of the newspaper Dong-a-ilbo of South Korea who was attached to the South Korean Consulate-General in Egypt provided Israel with military information which it had obtained by espionage in Egypt.

In the Middle East war of 1967, the South Korean authorities acclaimed the Israeli aggressors and invited an Israeli military mission to South Korea in order to decorate its members.

On 17 October 1973 the South Korean Minister for Foreign Affairs met the Israeli Ambassador in South Korea in order to offer him his support—this information was acquired on 17 October 1973 from Radio Djeoung-an in South Korea—and thus 32 airmen of F4 Phantoms, among them 12 pilots, were sent to Israel.

That is why my delegation rightly believes that the draft resolution submitted by 42 co-sponsors would make a major and effective contribution to the desired solution of the problem of the just Korean cause and would lead to the restoration of peace and international security in the Far East as well as in the Middle East.

It is for these reasons, which have thus been stated separately and as a whole, that my delegation supports, in the full meaning of the word, as a sponsor, the draft resolution which was introduced in the course of this morning's meeting by the representative of Algeria.

### *Speeches Made on October 23*

In this statement, which I hope will be very brief, I should like to answer the two major points raised. The first was in the statement made by the representative of Uruguay, when he said that the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709 has been submitted by the communist countries and all those countries associated with that bloc. Since we are among the sponsors of the draft resolution, I am entitled to exercise our right of rep-

ly touching the fact that he said that my country was associated with the communist countries.

As regards the second point, I should like to answer what was said by the representative of Israel a few moments ago about our having an obsession at the current session. He believes that obsession leads us always to answer Israel's allegations and those of the States which support it, and that when I spoke of South Korea and the régime which exists in that country this also was the result of that obsession.

May I say to the representative of Uruguay that my country, Syria, is an independent country, a sovereign State, and is not associated with or affiliated to any bloc. It only has its own independent policy and respects the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the charter of the non-aligned countries. The Syrian Constitution is closely allied to the Charter.

In Syria we have a democratic Constitution, and a referendum was conducted among the Syrian people in order to draft that Constitution by the People's Council in 1972. In that Constitution there are many provisions which refer to the sovereignty and independence of Syria, and it establishes a close relationship between the Syrian people and the other Arab nations, because Syria is part of the Arab homeland. This is what I am saying, and I repeat it with pride.

As regards our relationship with the Soviet Union, this is based on strong ties of friendship, of which we are proud, and not only as regards the Soviet Union, but also as regards the other socialist democracies, on the same footing, as well as the non-aligned countries. We are proud to participate in such friendship.

I am sure that the representative of Uruguay is competent to differentiate and distinguish between sovereignty and affiliation or association. If he needs further clarification in this matter, perhaps I could advise him to go back to the appropriate provisions of international law so that he may learn the difference between sovereignty and dependency.

I shall not take up much time, Mr. Chairman, as I think everyone is tired. I merely wish to thank the representative of Uruguay for kindly providing that explanation. I believe the misunderstanding was due to the interpretation of the description of the sponsors of the draft resolution as non-aligned countries and socialist countries and countries associated with or

affiliated to them. "Affiliated" in Arabic means that they are dependent on them. In any case, I thank the representative of Uruguay for his clarification, which I accept wholeheartedly.



## MALIK

Union of Soviet  
Socialist Republics

*Speech Made on October 21*

Mr. Chairman, before embarking on the substance of the position of the Soviet Union on this item, I should like to congratulate you on your election to your high post, and to wish you all success in the fulfilment of the duties entrusted to you. It is a particular pleasure for me to congratulate you, since you are a former Ambassador of your country to Moscow; and since we like to refer to all United Nations representatives who have been Ambassadors to Moscow as Muscovites, I therefore greet you as a Muscovite and wish you all success in your task.

For more than 20 years now the Korean question has been on the agenda of the General Assembly. However, the discussion of this item at this thirtieth session of the Assembly is taking place in a much more favourable atmosphere in international relations than has been the case in the past. The process of détente has become a determining factor in international relations; this favourable process is gaining in strength and gathering impetus. It is extending to new spheres of international relations and new areas of the world, and is acquiring concrete, material content.

In relations among States we see the strengthening of the principles of peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous co-operation. The recently concluded general debate at this thirtieth session of the Assembly demonstrated very convincingly that the overwhelming majority of United Nations Member States have reacted positively to and expressed satisfaction with the beneficial influence of détente on the process of reducing international tension in the world.

In our view, we must make the most of these favourable conditions in order to settle outstanding questions, which represent the continuation and the vestiges of the invidious cold

war, which has on more than one occasion brought mankind to the brink of universal catastrophe.

On the positive side, we were recently pleased to note the favourable effects on détente of the Declaration signed a short time ago in Moscow by the General Secretary of the Communist Party, Leonid Brezhnev, and President Giscard d'Estaing of France—a Declaration on the further development of friendship and co-operation between the Soviet Union and France. In that Declaration it is stated that:

“The parties note with satisfaction that in recent years notable success has been achieved in normalizing the international situation. The Soviet Union and France declare their determination to redouble their efforts in order to further promote détente and to extend it to international relations as a whole.”

This realistic attitude is understood and shared by the overwhelming majority of States of the world. This warm change in the political climate has reached the most distant parts of our planet; it is felt even more keenly in Asia, where States having different social systems are struggling to put a permanent end to the cold war era and, through their joint efforts, to build a peaceful future for their peoples.

The favourable influence on the situation in Asia and throughout the world has also triumphed among the peoples of Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia in their victory over the aggression against their sovereignty and independence. In Indo-China, one of the most dangerous hotbeds of international tension has been eliminated—one which had complicated international relations for a long period of time. The SEATO military bloc, created by the most rabid partisans of the cold war, has dissolved. The participation of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the work of the General Assembly and in the discussion of the Korean question is a positive sign of this same détente, for such participation was inconceivable and impossible during the cold war years.

In these conditions, we see particularly clearly how timely and urgent is the need for a peaceful settlement of the Korean problem, which was engendered by the cold war, and how necessary it is to eliminate tension on the Korean Peninsula and to create normal conditions so that the Korean people can freely and independently and by peaceful means, without foreign interference, decide their own destiny. I am thinking particularly of this question which is of such vital interest to them: the reunification of their country.

We welcome the participation of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the work of the present session of the General Assembly, and we should like to note particularly that we have listened with great interest and attention to the statement made by the head of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Comrade Li Jong Mok. He very convincingly set forth the just, well-founded position of his country concerning ways to achieve a peaceful settlement of the Korean question. I would point out in particular that his speech was permeated by a genuine concern for the destiny of the entire Korean people and by the sincere and noble desire to achieve durable peace for the entire Korean peninsula.

This year we are commemorating the thirtieth anniversary of the liberation of Korea from Japanese occupation during the Second World War and the defeat of Japanese militarism. After throwing off the chains of colonial slavery and becoming masters of their own destiny the workers of the northern part of the country chose the socialist way of development for themselves.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has, in a short period of time, transformed itself into a socialist State with a developed industry, a highly developed agriculture, and a highly developed national culture. That country has reached the level of the developed industrial countries in its production abilities. In the four years of the Six-Year Plan, the over-all industrial production has increased 9.1 times. Furthermore, the rate of this growth has amounted to 17 per cent annually, and this could be a cause of envy for more than one State Member of the United Nations. In accordance with this plan, the production of electric power should amount to 28,000 million to 30,000 million kilowatt hours in 1976; coal mining should reach a production of 50 to 53 million tons; and steel production will reach approximately 4 million tons. As a result of the intensive irrigation projects and agricultural improvement undertaken by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, agricultural production has reached a sufficiently satisfactory level, as has the production of raw materials.

The great achievements of the peoples of Korea in developing their culture and their art are well known. Illiteracy has long since been eliminated, and since 1972, the country has gone over to a general period of schooling over a 10-year curriculum programme.

In recent years the representatives of many United Nations

Member States, including the representative of the Soviet Union to the United Nations, have visited the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the invitation of its Government, and have seen with their own eyes the outstanding achievements and the greatly developed economy and culture of North Korea.

As has already been stated, for many years now the problem of Korea has been considered at the sessions of the United Nations General Assembly. However, up to now, the situation has not changed for the better. The Assembly, at its present session, must once again discuss the situation in Korea carefully and in detail, and it should plan ways for normalizing the situation and strengthening peace on the Korean peninsula, and take the corresponding positive decisions.

With regard to the position of the Soviet Union on the Korean question, it has once again been officially set forth quite recently. Speaking in the general debate at the thirtieth session of the General Assembly, the Soviet Foreign Minister, Andrei Gromyko, referring to this matter, stated the following:

"The precarious state of armistice obviously does not ensure the stabilization of the state of affairs on the Korean peninsula. The need to create conditions for establishing durable peace on the Korean peninsula and speeding up the peaceful reunification of Korea has long been pressing. Those goals would be served by a cessation of outside interference in the internal affairs of the Korean people and, in the first place, the withdrawal from South Korea of all foreign troops stationed there under the United Nations flag, as well as by the conclusion of a peace treaty. It is the duty of the United Nations to assist in every possible way in taking such steps. This can be done on the basis of the proposals put forward at the current session of the General Assembly by a large group of States, including the Soviet Union." (A/PV.2357, pp. 52-53)

The question quite naturally arises, what is the cause of this continuing abnormal situation in Korea? Why, despite the persistent efforts of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea aimed at a peaceful democratic solution to the Korean problem which was supported by the masses of the peoples in both parts of Korea, and which has broad support from all United Nations Member States—why is it that this problem is still not settled? What is the main obstacle to a settlement in Korea?

It is difficult to deny the obvious fact that the main obsta-

cle in this situation on the Korean peninsula is primarily the continued foreign intervention in the affairs of the Korean people; and, secondly, the stubborn reactionary position of the leaders of South Korea, who are repressing their own people and its own natural desire for democracy and reunification. The South Korean régime's fear of its own people is an obstacle to the peaceful reunification of Korea.

Can we consider as normal a situation where, 22 years after the signing of the armistice in South Korea, there still remains a tremendous foreign army under the United Nations flag in South Korea, at a time when there is not a single foreign soldier on the territory of North Korea? Naturally, no one could be misled by the fact that the foreign troops in South Korea are still illegally calling themselves United Nations troops, while everybody knows that these are troops of only one single State Member of the United Nations, namely, the United States of America. This foreign army amounts to more than 40,000 men, and it is armed with the most modern weapons, including nuclear weapons. As we see from the memorandum submitted on the Korean item by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the thirtieth session of the General Assembly contained in document A/C.1/1054, these foreign troops recently have been equipped with new forms of modern weapons, and their technical equipment and fire-power have been increased.

As was proven convincingly by facts adduced during the discussion of the Korean question at a number of United Nations General Assembly sessions, foreign troops in South Korea represent an instrument of outside intervention in Korea's affairs and constitute the main obstacle to a peaceful democratic reunification of the country. The presence of foreign troops in South Korea is the main factor which is very seriously complicating the situation in Korea and preventing its normalization. Consideration of the Korean question in the United Nations, and particularly its discussion at recent sessions of the General Assembly, has demonstrated to the entire international community that there is no reason or justification for maintaining foreign armed forces in South Korea.

Those troops are there in violation of the Armistice Agreement, under which all foreign armed forces were long ago withdrawn from the territory of North Korea. One cannot justify the maintenance of such troops by demagogic references to so-called threats coming from the north. References to such a threat, as has been shown long since by the facts, are noth-



ing more than a propaganda effort on the part of those who are interested in perpetuating the present abnormal and dangerous situation in Korea.

Another thing is obvious: the foreign troops serve to bolster up the puppet, anti-national régime in South Korea, which utilizes the presence of those troops to maintain their own domination over the people and to crush the democratic aspirations of the people of South Korea. Particularly in recent times, the reactionary Seoul régime has intensified its repression of the patriotic elements of the population in South Korea who have come out in favour of the peaceful reunification of their country and the elimination of foreign intervention in their own domestic affairs. At the same time, with the support of foreign arms, the Seoul régime is instigating a campaign against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the pretext of its slanderous version of a threat coming from the north, and it is expanding its military preparations and increasing its armed forces, which already amount to more than 600,000 men, supplying them with the most modern weapons, which are coming in great quantities from overseas.

The South Korean authorities are continuing their armed provocations of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The presence in South Korea of foreign troops and the feverish military preparations of the South Korean régime are a nutritive medium for the most aggressive, adventurist elements in the South Korean population. This situation not only prevents reunification; it actually favours division. It does not promote a peaceful situation but, rather, one of hostility and hatred and encourages all kinds of instigations and provocations directed against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. As a result of all these deliberately hostile policies, the tension and the instability are continuing in Korea without attenuation.

It is well known that the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and President Kim Il Sung personally have persistently undertaken efforts to create the necessary conditions for the peaceful democratic reunification of Korea and a durable peace on the Korean peninsula. Along those lines, in recent years the North Korean side has undertaken a number of very important political initiatives.

In 1972, as a result of the important political initiative of the Government of that country, the first steps were taken along the difficult road towards the restoration of the national unity of Korea. A dialogue was begun between the Democratic

People's Republic of Korea and South Korea which was approved and supported by the United Nations. Agreement was reached on the creation of a North-South Joint Co-ordinating Committee, and meetings of that Committee were held. In the North-South Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972, general principles concerning the reunification of the country by peaceful means were set forth, that is, by the efforts of the Korean people itself, without any foreign intervention whatsoever. The purpose was thereafter to apply the agreement that had been reached and to transform those agreed provisions into practical, concrete measures. In a resolution adopted at its twenty-eighth session, the United Nations General Assembly supported those positive efforts, which were begun on the initiative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and expressed the hope that the North and the South would continue their dialogue and expand their co-operation.

However, the Seoul régime began to sabotage the incipient process of the gradual, peaceful reunification of Korea. The agreement set forth in the aforementioned Joint Communiqué has, up to now, not been implemented as a result of the negative, obstructionist position taken by the South Korean side. It becomes more obvious to all with each day that the main obstacle to the peaceful solution of the Korean problem has been and remains the continuing intervention of foreign forces in Korean affairs, primarily the presence of foreign troops in South Korea, and the negative position of the South Korean régime.

For many years during discussions in the General Assembly of the Korean question certain delegations have made great efforts and used all their eloquence to prove what cannot be proved, to convince everyone that all foreign troops in South Korea without exception are so-called United Nations troops and that they are under the so-called United Nations Command. Now a 180-degree about-face has been made and they are doing exactly the opposite. They are making efforts to convince the General Assembly and each delegation to the Assembly that the United Nations Command does not have any troops—other than some 300 to 400 men—and that those foreign troops in South Korea which amount to more than 40,000 men are not United Nations troops and are not subordinated to the United Nations Command but rather to the United States Command. This is the metamorphosis that has occurred in this question of foreign troops in South Korea.

No one has any doubt whatsoever that the foreign troops

in South Korea have from the very outset illegally used the United Nations flag and the name "United Nations troops", and their command has also from the very outset illegally called itself "the United Nations Command". Therefore, at this point the fact is that this so-called United Nations Command in South Korea must be immediately and unconditionally dissolved. All foreign troops, and these have been there for more than 20 years under the United Nations flag, should be totally withdrawn.

The Soviet Union supports the position of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the effect that these items cannot be separated from each other. They are interrelated. The dissolution of the United Nations Command at a time when foreign troops remain in South Korea—troops which up to now have called themselves United Nations troops but which under any other new foreign flag or under any other name will not change the situation—this would simply be one more attempt to mislead uninformed people and even to mislead the United Nations, which is already sufficiently well informed.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has put forward and is consistently advocating a broad programme of practical measures covering all aspects of a settlement in Korea and providing for the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea and the cessation of military confrontations on the Korean peninsula, for the purpose of creating the necessary conditions for a peaceful, democratic reunification of the country and for a durable peace and security in Korea and throughout all Asia. In legitimately demanding the dissolution of the United Nations Command and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea proposes replacing the Armistice Agreement in Korea by a peace agreement between the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States, as the parties which have signed the Armistice Agreement. They are proposing to conclude a peace agreement between the real parties to the Armistice, since South Korea is not a signatory to this Agreement and its troops, up to now, have been under the so-called United Nations Command, on whose behalf the Armistice Agreement with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was signed. The parties to this Agreement are only two, namely, the Command of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States Command, and it follows juridically and logically therefrom that a peace agreement must be signed only by those

two parties, namely, by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States.

Judging from press reports, proposals on this matter were made by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the United States Government. However, it has been said that up to now there has been no answer to those proposals. Thus there has been a cessation of this prolonged situation of an unstable Armistice and a step towards a durable and permanent peace has been taken.

Can we consider as normal the maintenance of this situation of armistice for 22 years? We must bear in mind that the Armistice Agreement is being constantly and deliberately violated by the South Korean regime and the effects of some of its most important provisions have been unilaterally terminated.

In accordance with the agreement suggested by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, all foreign troops must be withdrawn from South Korea in the shortest possible time. Both parties must assume the obligation not to encroach on the territory of the other party and to eliminate the danger of an eruption of armed conflict, to cease strengthening the armed forces, and stop importing weapons and military technology into Korea. After the withdrawal of foreign troops, Korea must not be converted into a military or support base for any foreign State. Furthermore, it is proposed that the United States should assume the obligation not to prevent North and South Korea from implementing an independent and peaceful reunification, in accordance with the aforementioned North-South Joint Communiqué, and to refrain completely from intervening in the domestic affairs of Korea.

The conclusion of such an agreement would be the basis of a durable peace in Korea because these reasonable, peaceful proposals of the North Korean side show the futility of, and even refute, the assertions to the effect that foreign troops are needed in South Korea in order to maintain the Armistice in connexion with the threat from the North. It is not hard to see the absurdity of this hostile propaganda directed against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. One need only study the concrete proposals which have been put forward and defended by the North Korean side for the purpose of reaching a settlement between North and South Korea on those questions which might still arise between them after the withdrawal of foreign troops. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea considers that, after the withdrawal of foreign troops, measures should be taken to ward off a military confrontation between

North and South. It is proposed, as is known, to reduce troops in both North and South to 100,000 or even fewer, to terminate the arms race, the increase in arms and in armed forces and to enter into a mutual commitment to cease the importation of weapons and military technology. If one considers that at the present time the army of the South Korean regime numbers more than 600,000 men and that it is equipped with the most recent types of weapons, then it becomes quite understandable what a very useful role would be played by the implementation of the measures which have been proposed by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Those proposals refer to the military aspect of the relations between North and South. The implementation of those measures would create real guarantees for stability in the Korean peninsula without foreign intervention after the withdrawal of foreign troops, whose presence leads only to a freezing of the existing abnormal tense situation.

Furthermore, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea proposes a broad programme of political measures aimed at the peaceful, democratic reunification of the country by the Koreans themselves without any foreign intervention and under conditions in which all foreign troops would be absent from Korean territory.

The North Korean party stresses its readiness to begin negotiations at any time on the reunification of the country with all the South Korean political parties, all public organizations and individuals. As a means to achieve national unity and to accelerate the independent, peaceful reunification of the country, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has put forward proposals calling for the creation of a North-South confederation. While maintaining temporarily the present political systems in the North and the South, they propose forming a Supreme National Assembly consisting of representatives of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the South Korean authorities thus settling in a unified way the problems that are of general interest and also acting as a unified State in the field of foreign affairs, as well as with regard to the United Nations.

The creation of a confederation, as suggested by the North Korean party, would make it possible to develop contacts and co-operation between North and South in various fields and thus expedite the process of reunification.

The North Korean side is also in favour of strict and consistent respect for the principles of national reunification set

forth in the North-South Joint Communiqué dated 4 July 1972.

All these proposals by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea regarding a peaceful, democratic solution to the Korean problem are filled with a sincere concern about the destiny and the national aspirations of the Korean people and for the maintenance of peace in Korea. They have the firm support of the Soviet Union, the socialist States and all sincere friends of the Korean people, which represent an ever-growing number of States Members of the United Nations.

In this connexion we should like to recall the position of the non-aligned countries on the Korean question, which, as is known, constitute the majority of States Members of the United Nations. In the political Declaration adopted by the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned Countries in Lima last August, they again confirmed their support for the policy of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea without any foreign intervention in the domestic affairs of that country. The Declaration contains a demand that all foreign troops which are still in South Korea under the United Nations flag be withdrawn and that the present Armistice Agreement in Korea be replaced by a peace agreement. We should like to hope that the participants in that Conference will maintain this position on the Korean question at the thirtieth session of the United Nations General Assembly.

We are deeply convinced that the normalization of the situation on the Korean peninsula and the creation of favourable conditions for a peaceful, democratic reunification of Korea will be promoted by the adoption by the General Assembly of the draft resolution submitted by a large group of sponsors from among the socialist and non-aligned countries, including the Soviet Union. In this draft resolution, it is proposed to eliminate the main source of tension and the main disrupting element in South Korea by withdrawing foreign troops under the United Nations flag and to dissolve the so-called United Nations Command. The draft resolution also proposes the replacement of the temporary Armistice Agreement, which has already become obsolete, by a peace agreement. It also contains an urgent appeal to North and South Korea to uphold the principles of their Joint Communiqué and to take practical measures to cease and terminate military confrontation and to maintain a durable peace in Korea.

In adopting this draft resolution, the First Committee and the General Assembly could make a truly useful contribution in assisting the Korean people to take an independent decision

and to act by democratic means without any intervention from the outside in this question of the reunification of their country.

Such a decision on the part of the Assembly would be a response to the task that faces the United Nations throughout the entire development of international relations, namely, to promote the strengthening of peace and to intensify the process of détente and extend it to all areas of the world.

In opposition to this draft resolution, which is sponsored by 42 States Members of the United Nations, the draft resolution of the capitalist developed countries and of a small group of their political supporters from among the developing countries disregards the very substance of the Korean problem—the question of the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea. This draft resolution is aimed at maintaining an unstable, tense situation in Korea. It provides not only for the maintenance of foreign troops on Korean soil but also for conferring upon the presence of these troops a certain legal status. In view of this, the Soviet delegation does not consider this draft resolution acceptable and will vote against it.

The Soviet Union supports the positive efforts of the peoples of the Asian continent aimed at carrying out this task of strengthening peace and security and promoting fruitful co-operation. We support their efforts to ensure that the fruits of this beneficent process of international détente become accessible to the peoples of all the Asian States. In Asia the idea of guaranteeing the security of States by the joint efforts of all countries is gathering strength, which is in the interests of all the countries of that continent. The strengthening of security in Asia on a collective basis with the participation of all States would meet the requirements of our time and would meet the interests of the Asian peoples and the peoples of the entire world. A prompt, peaceful solution of the Korean problem in accordance with the aspirations of the Korean people would be a useful contribution to the improvement of the international situation in the Far East and throughout all of Asia.

We express the hope that all those delegations which cherish the cause of peace and security and those that respect the national aspirations and interests of the Korean people—their aspirations to reunify their homeland into a single Korean State without any foreign intervention and without the presence of foreign troops—will vote in favour of the only just and correct draft resolution, the one which has been proposed by 42 non-aligned and socialist States.

### *Speeches Made on October 29*

In view of the appeal made by our friend Ambassador Barroody, and in view of your appeal, Mr. Chairman, to members of the Committee to refer only to the question of the voting procedures, to priorities and to views concerning the draft resolutions on which we are to vote, may I say concerning priority that our delegation fully supports the views and proposals put forward by the representative of Algeria to the effect that the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.709 sponsored by 43 States should be given priority. The representative of Algeria gave sufficient reasons to substantiate his proposal, for in point of fact, although the draft resolution of Barbados and the United States—and that is what I call it, the draft resolution of Barbados and the United States—was submitted earlier, the French amendment has so drastically changed it that it appeared as a new draft resolution on 14 October. Members of the Committee must take this point into consideration.

The representative of Liberia referred to the rules of procedure. He said that the rules of procedure relate to when the voting procedure is being discussed in any particular United Nations body and when votes are being taken. In this case the French amendment was accepted by the sponsors without any vote in the First Committee. The inclusion of that amendment has drastically changed the substance of the Barbados-United States draft, and for that reason the Algerian representative and those who support his view have every reason to consider this new draft to be a substantially changed new draft. And this gives us reason to insist that it should be voted on not as a first but, rather, as a new draft that was submitted not in June, but in October.

My second comment is no less substantive. The members of the General Committee in the Assembly and those who attended the meeting of the General Committee on 17 October will very well recall that at that meeting the question arose as to how to deal with the two proposals on the Korean question, what place to assign to them. The titles of these proposals are contained in both drafts, in the draft of the 43 Powers as well as in the draft of Barbados and the United States. A very sharp discussion took place on this point and a vote ended this discussion. The result of the vote on the item on "Creation of favourable conditions for converting the Armistice into a dur-



able peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea" was that the item received a majority in the sense that it was placed first on the agenda under item (a); and the second item, the one raised by the Western countries and submitted by Barbados and the United States of America was placed under the heading of item (b)—that is, in second place.

This decision of the General Committee was brought before the General Assembly at the plenary for its consideration, and the General Assembly approved the decision of the General Committee. For us, this is the law in the formulation given by the co-sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709 under heading (a) in English.

The proposal that was made by the Western countries headed by Barbados and the United States of America appears under item (b). Now, what point does the resolution in document A/C.1/L.709—that is, the resolution of the 43 Powers—appear under? It appears under item 1, that is, under item (a). Consequently, it should be voted on first.

The Liberian representative suggested that we refer to the Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs on this matter. But here is a legal basis—namely, the decision of the General Committee, as approved by the General Assembly. This is a legal basis for considering the first item first, and we should also vote first on the corresponding draft resolution. This is the legal and logical basis for insisting, not on priority, but on the lawful basis, on the basis of the decision taken by the General Assembly and the General Committee to the effect that the 43-Power draft should be voted on first. Our delegation insists on this basis because it must truly be put to a vote in first place.

A few comments now on the amendment submitted by Saudi Arabia to the 43-Power draft resolution. If I remember correctly, my friend Jamil in his statement said that he would not submit an amendment this year. But then he departed from his promise and he did submit, suddenly at the last hour, an amendment. No one has had the opportunity of studying his amendment in detail and expressing views and giving an assessment of that amendment. Delegations have not carefully studied this amendment. So the impression is that it is one-sided. It changes the substance of the draft submitted by the 43 co-sponsors. It contains a proposal to interfere in the internal affairs of the Korean people.

In point of fact, what is being suggested here? A *diktat* as

to the form this reunification should take. The amendment actually prescribes how this reunification should take place. It should be either a confederation or a federation. What right does the United Nations have to dictate to the Korean people what form their unification should take? This is the sovereign right of the Korean people, and the Korean people will consider and agree itself as to the form of its unification. The United Nations and its Assembly do not have the right to dictate the form of unification.

The amendment mentions the formulation emanating from the common will of the Korean people as a whole. Well, there is a contradiction involved here. On the one hand, the United Nations is dictating to them to set up a confederation or a federation, and on the other hand, it is disregarding the will of the Korean people. The United Nations is already telling them in advance they must unite either in the form of a confederation or a federation.

How can the Korean people express its sovereign will if, in advance, the United Nations dictates to them the form of their unification? For this reason, the Saudi Arabian amendment is contradictory in its substance. Furthermore, it mentions creating conditions which will ensure a peaceful transition for a solution on the basis of unification. What are the conditions required? They are the withdrawal of foreign troops and the replacement of the Armistice Agreement by a peace agreement. Neither the one nor the other is mentioned in the amendment. So the creation of such conditions is not envisaged. If the General Assembly and the United Nations do not call on both Koreas, and if, in their resolution, they disregard the need to replace the Armistice Agreement by a peace agreement, then there can be absolutely no progress.

This is the very basis of the Western resolution—that is, the resolution of Barbados and the United States of America. Let us examine that resolution. Operative paragraph 2 stresses new arrangements to replace the Armistice Agreement, but they do not say what arrangements. The co-sponsors of that draft resolution remain silent over the fact that the Armistice Agreement must be replaced by a peace agreement.

Operative paragraph 3 provides that there should be “continued observation of the Armistice Agreement”.

Paragraph 4 also provides that “alternative arrangements for the maintenance of the Armistice Agreement will be made”, and thus this draft resolution provides for the perpetual maintenance of the Armistice Agreement. There is no word of the

need to conclude a peace agreement. It avoids any mention of a peace agreement, which is also avoided in the Saudi Arabian amendment. That amendment refers to the Armistice Agreement but it does not say anything about a peace agreement or about the fact that a peace agreement should replace the Armistice Agreement. Now that is the very quintessence of the 43-Power draft, because the Armistice Agreement has already dragged on for more than 25 years and has not led to a solution of the Korean problem. It has not ensured the reunification of Korea, and apparently that suits some people, because they want this situation to continue and to be intensified and strengthened. The draft resolution of Barbados and the United States particularly provides for continuing the Armistice Agreement situation. Not a word is mentioned about the peace agreement. This is the basic difference between the 43-Power draft and the proposal of Barbados and the United States of America. For this reason we are in favour of the 43-Power draft and we oppose the draft of Barbados and the United States.

I should like to draw attention to one other point. The sponsors of the 43-Power draft include a large group of Arab States, nine Arab countries in fact, and this is a very positive factor. Unfortunately, by submitting this unacceptable amendment my friend Jamil Baroodi may be dissociating himself from his family and may find himself on the other side of the fence from his Arab brothers. I know Mr. Baroodi. I know he is an ardent advocate of Arab unity and of Arab fraternity; yet suddenly I find him on the other side from the nine Arab countries. As a friend of his, I can only express my chagrin and my dismay at this.

One final point: even if the Saudi Arabian amendment were truly aimed at producing conditions favourable to the reunification of Korea, there would be no reason for such an amendment, no need for it to exist, because this idea is fully expressed in paragraph 3 of the 43-Power draft which says:

"The General Assembly,...

"Urges the North and the South of Korea to observe the principles of the North-South joint statement..."

Everybody is familiar with that statement; I hardly need to quote it. The sponsors of the 43-Power draft are not intervening in the internal affairs of the Korean people. They are not forcing a federation or a confederation on them. On the contrary, they are calling on the North and the South to observe the principles that have been agreed on between them, and this is something that the United Nations General Assembly is entitled

led to do. Further on the "prevention of armed conflicts" is mentioned and in the last line of paragraph 3 the draft speaks of maintaining

"a durable peace in Korea, conducive to accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of the country".

In other words, paragraph 3 of the 43-Power draft includes the concept of promoting reunification and reflects the idea that this reunification will further the implementation of the principles agreed on between the two parties in full sovereignty and on a voluntary basis, without any intervention and without any *diktat* from outside. This is our main idea in the 43-Power draft, namely, that the Korean people should decide on their own reunification, independently and in a peaceful way, with the foreign troops withdrawn and the United Nations Command dissolved. All these points are fully reflected in the 43-Power draft. Therefore there is no reason for the Saudi Arabian amendment to change this draft. That harmful amendment excludes the withdrawal of foreign troops and therefore we object to the Saudi Arabian amendment, and not surprisingly, seven ambassadors have appealed to my friend from Saudi Arabia to withdraw his amendment. I join in that appeal and I would request that he pay heed to it. If he does so he will be acting well, in the interests of the Korean people, and would be respecting the right of the Korean people to decide the problem of reunification and the form of its reunification, without any *diktat*.

In conclusion, a few words about the expression "the real parties": at all times it has been considered that the real parties to any agreement are those which signed the agreement. Saudi Arabia did not sign the Armistice Agreement; and thus there is no reason to consider Saudi Arabia a real party to this Agreement. The Soviet Union did not sign the Agreement and there is no reason to consider it a real party. South Korea did not sign the Agreement and therefore there is no reason to consider it a real party. Consequently, in order to replace the Armistice Agreement, those who signed the Armistice Agreement, namely, the United States of America and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, have to begin negotiations. This is how we understand the term "real parties" and this is the view of the 43 sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709.

A word or two now about *détente*. We are deeply convinced that those who are ironical about *détente* or who try to

discredit it are suffering from cold-war nostalgia. The peoples have had enough of the cold war. Détente opens up prospects of mutual understanding and the solution of international problems not by means of war but through consultations—all the more important since we face the danger of thermonuclear war in our times, therefore, by means of negotiations, agreement and mutual understanding. The great example which should be followed is the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, in which more than 35 countries participated—33 European countries and even the United States of America and Canada. That Conference found a general basis to achieve agreement to make the European continent one of peace rather than the dangerous hotbed it had been of two terrible wars.

For that reason I would again repeat that those who are opposed to détente and who make fun of it indeed suffer from the disease of cold-war nostalgia, which has vanished into eternity and which every one of us should strive to ensure is never again reborn.

I should like, Mr. Chairman, to address myself to the representative of Saudi Arabia.

Mr. Baroody, I listened attentively to your statement and your explanations about the additional amendments to the preamble, and naturally the question arises in my mind, what is your purpose? What are you standing to gain by this? You are reminding us of the partition of Korea and that the alliance of the United Nations defeated fascism and militarism; that the Soviet Union lost 20 million lives; that the Second World War was fought to crush fascism and that the United Nations was founded as a result. And the Africans and Asians are sat here, but you are silent about that. You have focused attention on the partition of Korea. That is a sad but an inevitable outcome of the war—sad but inevitable at the time.

And with reference to the fact that the great Powers decided the question of Korea, you are adopting the wrong course, and involving the United Nations in a wrong course. You are setting the United Nations aside from a solution to the Korean problem and leaving it to the great Powers, as it were, to decide. Which great Powers? There are no Soviet troops in Korea. There are no Chinese troops. Whose troops are there? There are just the troops of one great Power.

Instead of making such an amendment you ought to make an amendment that that Power should immediately withdraw its armed forces from Korea. That would be assisting the Ko-

rean people, if you really want to help them to reunify. But by stating "all the great Powers", and put the blame on all the great Powers, you are covering up one Power which has its troops there. That is what your proposal amounts to. Whether you like it or not, that is what it is objectively. That is the factual situation, my distinguished friend.

That is my understanding and my political assessment. My understanding is that you sincerely want to do something good, to propose something, but objectively you are ending up helping that Power whose troops are on Korean territory and not the 43 co-sponsors of the draft resolution who really want to help the Korean people to rid themselves of outside interference and unite their country by independent and peaceful means. I cannot take any other view of your amendment and your approach. Your amendment amounts to diverting us from the core of the problem and covering the presence of the troops of one Power in south Korea.

I therefore request you, on behalf of the 43 sponsors of the draft resolution—I am sure that they will support me in this—not to press your amendment. That would be the best help that you could give to the Korean people.

It has become a habit to listen most attentively to the statements of my friend, Mr. Baroody. Regardless of whether or not anyone objects to what he has said, everything he has said will be included in the records of the First Committee, so that even were anyone to object it would be pointless. Everything you said, Mr. Baroody, will automatically be included in the records, and everything I have said will also be recorded, and everything said by any of us will be recorded; and you can quote it at the thirty-first session if you wish.

But I have a sincere and friendly wish that the formula "great Powers" should be replaced by "great Power", because we all know that the troops in Korea belong to but one great Power, the United States of America. Mr. Moynihan can confirm that. There are no Soviet troops. There are no Chinese troops; Mr. Huang Hua can confirm that. So what about the two Powers whose troops are not in Korea?

So if you replace, in your formula, the term "great Powers" by the expression "great Power", and express the wish that by the thirty-first session these troops will be withdrawn from South Korea, this would be of assistance to the Korean people.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to give some information as a party to these events at that time. I have more accurate information than the representative of the United States does,

and I would like an opportunity to give it to the Committee.

I believe that we must have some information in connexion with the statement of the United States representative. I shall be very brief. In order to inject some clarity into the fog raised by the representative of the United States before the vote, the situation was as follows. I, as representative of the Soviet Union, as an indication of protest against the Security Council's having a representative of the Chiang Kai-shek clique sitting as a member—and representing nobody—left the meeting. The American representative at that time imposed a resolution on the Council by using the mechanical majority. Everyone in the Council was a supporter of the United States delegation, and the Council had imposed upon it an illegal resolution declaring the creation of the Command and sending what were called United Nations troops to Korea. And, of course, the bulk of the military force consisted of United States troops. At that time they were called United Nations troops.

And now the representative of the United States talks of 300 troops. Why have a "Command" for so few troops? At that time there were whole army corps in Korea. You imposed a resolution by a mechanical voting procedure and gave to that aggression against Korea the appearance of legitimacy by calling it a United Nations action. In fact, it was a unilateral action by the United States with the assistance of its allies, taking advantage of the fact that two permanent members—the Soviet Union and China—were not in the Security Council. These are the actual facts in the situation.

### *Speech Made on November 18*

The delegation of the Soviet Union considers it necessary to make the following statement in connexion with the consideration in this plenary meeting of the report of the First Committee on the question of Korea.

The report contains a draft resolution, resolution B, adopted by the First Committee on the initiative of 43 co-sponsors, non-aligned and socialist countries, which takes into account the urgent need for normalizing the situation in the Korean peninsula and creating favourable conditions for the independent, peaceful, reunification of Korea. The draft was adopted by a substantial majority and that reflects the growing understanding by the majority of Member States of the United Nations of the real, fundamental interests of the peace-loving Ko-

rean people, and the increased support in the United Nations for that people's just demand for an end to foreign intervention in its affairs, and that foreign troops be withdrawn and an opportunity be afforded finally to the Koreans independently to determine questions affecting the reunification of their country and other urgent national problems.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea pointed out in its statement of 31 October that this draft resolution accurately reflected the unanimous desire of the people of Korea and of the peace-loving peoples of the world, the prevailing situation in Korea and the needs of the present day and also correctly indicated the fundamental ways and means for the practical solution of the problem of the reunification of Korea.

The draft resolution adopted in the Committee on the initiative of 43 States proposes the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations and the dissolution of the so-called United Nations command. It also proposes the replacement of the temporary Armistice Agreement, which has already been overtaken by the events, with a peace agreement. The resolution also contains an urgent appeal to North and South Korea to observe the principles of the North-South joint statement of 4 July 1972 and to take all practical measures for removing military confrontation and maintaining a durable peace in Korea.

The discussion of the question of Korea in the First Committee has once again convincingly proved that the cessation of interference of outside forces in the internal affairs of Korea and the withdrawal of all foreign troops illegally making use of the United Nations flag are the major and indispensable conditions for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. That is the only proper way of eliminating tension and strengthening peace in the Korean peninsula.

In the light of the discussion it has become even more obvious that it is precisely the presence of foreign troops in South Korea that is the major obstacle to the unification of Korea and the establishment of lasting peace there.

In a message to the Korean-Soviet Friendship Society dated 11 November, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Brezhnev, said:

"The Soviet people stands squarely behind the Korean people in their just struggle for the cessation of imperialist interference in the internal affairs of Korea and



the attainment of the peaceful reunification of that country."

Many Member States of the United Nations support the just requirement of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag, and their number is growing every year. As is well known, the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries held in Lima in August of this year stated:

"...all foreign troops that remained stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag" should "be withdrawn and the present Korean Military Armistice Agreement" should "be replaced with a peace agreement." (A/10217, annex, para. 60 )

The draft resolution of the 43 States is entirely in keeping with that position of the non-aligned countries. The precarious nature of the armistice in Korea does not guarantee any reliable stabilization of the situation in the Korean peninsula and the need for the conclusion of a peace treaty is obvious. Replacing the armistice by a peace agreement would create a genuine guarantee for the maintenance of peace in Korea.

The draft resolution of the 43 States indicates specific, practical measures aimed at creating conditions for strengthening the chances of a lasting peace in the peninsula and hastening the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea. We appeal to the delegations of all States members of the United Nations, primarily to those of the non-aligned countries, who cherish the interests of peoples struggling against foreign intervention and for the strengthening of their freedom and national independence and an independent and peaceful future to vote in favour of the draft resolution B in the report of the First Committee. The proposals in the draft resolution form a good basis for the independent and peaceful solution of the Korean problem by the Korean people themselves. It is the duty of the United Nations to promote the adoption of measures such as those proposed in the draft resolution. The adoption of the draft resolution would be an important and a valuable contribution by the General Assembly to the cause of strengthening peace in Korea and in the Far East as a whole and a support for the Korean people in their efforts to solve the question of the reunification of Korea peacefully and by their own decision.

The report of the First Committee also contains a draft resolution adopted on the initiative of a number of developed capitalist countries and a small number of politically like-minded

ed developing countries. That draft resolution ignores the core part of the Korean problem—the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea—and is aimed at preserving the present unstable and tense situation in the Korean peninsula. The Soviet delegation will therefore vote against that draft resolution and we call upon other delegations to vote against it. The rejection by the General Assembly of that resolution would, we are firmly convinced, be the only right and just decision and one in keeping with the interests and aspirations of the people of both parts of Korea, North and South.



## DATCU

### Romania

If one draws up a balance sheet of the 30 years of activity of the United Nations, one can register to its credit a host of achievements and of positive contributions to the development of understanding and co-operation among States.

However, it is also fitting to state that with regard to certain important problems and certain conflicts the United Nations was led to take unjust measures which have been detrimental to its prestige and which have had unfavourable repercussions on international life. The so-called Korean entry is the largest debit on the balance sheet. It is true that in the last analysis it is not the United Nations itself which should be blamed, but rather those who use it as an instrument of their own policy. As far as we are concerned, we feel that all that has been done and is being done in south Korea in the name and under cover of the United Nations is an abuse and does not represent the will of this Organization.

The United Nations involvement in Korea, which dates back to the cold war, is an anachronism which our Organization should rid itself of as soon as possible. A beginning was made two years ago by doing away with the United Nations Commission for Korea. That decision represents a positive contribution to the elimination of barriers in the way of the reunification of Korea. If we really hold dear the prestige of our Organization, we must follow the path that has thus been opened. That is what is proposed by the group of 42 countries, including Romania, which initiated the present debate by including in the agenda of this session the item entitled, "Creation of favourable conditions for converting the Armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea".

The objective of the measures proposed in the draft resolution presented by this group of countries is twofold. On the one hand, it is to put an end to foreign interference in the internal

affairs of the Korean people and to ensure a durable peace in that country; on the other hand, it is to encourage by ensuring favourable conditions, the positive processes set in train by the political initiatives and the persevering efforts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea with a view to the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea.

In order to eliminate foreign interference and guarantee a durable peace in Korea we propose, in the first place, the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Command, and the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the cover of the United Nations.

In this connexion, it is well known—and I therefore do not intend to demonstrate it at this late hour—that the resolutions under which foreign troops stationed in South Korea were placed under the United Nations flag did not and cannot represent the will of this Organization. Since they were adopted in flagrant violation of the provisions of the Charter, those resolutions remain absolutely null and void, *ab initio*. There can therefore be no doubt that neither the foreign troops stationed in South Korea nor their command has ever in reality been United Nations troops.

Romania is firmly convinced that the presence of foreign troops on the territory of other States, contrary to the will of the peoples concerned, is far from being a factor for peace and understanding. On the contrary, international life has often repeatedly shown that the presence of foreign troops on the territory of other States is a cause of tension which stands in the way of a just and durable solution of international problems.

Another measure proposed by the group of 42 sponsors is to transform the military Armistice Agreement into a peace agreement. On this point we should like to be clear and correctly understood: we do not propose the pure and simple elimination of the Armistice Agreement, but its replacement by a peace agreement which would be concluded between the real parties to the Armistice Agreement. Therefore, what we propose is to replace the precarious status of a military armistice by a genuine peace, durable and definitive, a peace that could put an end to the state of war and restore peace between the parties to the conflict.

To sum up, I should like to emphasize that there is an international problem with regard to Korea which results from foreign military intervention in Korea and the presence of foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the cover of the United Nations. It is therefore a problem between the United

States and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. This problem should therefore be resolved by negotiations and agreements between these two countries.

On the other hand there is the problem of the reunification of Korea, which is thus an internal matter which the Koreans themselves should solve, without any interference, by negotiations between North and South Korea, after the elimination of foreign interference.

The draft resolution sponsored by 42 States has not neglected that problem while taking good care not to impose any solutions on the Korean people.

Indeed, operative paragraph 3 of our text proposes observance of the principles of the North-South Joint Communiqué, practical measures to eliminate tensions and military confrontation, a guarantee that force will not be used against either side and the maintenance in Korea of a durable peace that will permit the acceleration of the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

It is incorrect to say that the draft of the 42 States seeks to exclude South Korea from the process of building peace and the reunification of Korea. We deem it the duty of the United Nations to encourage the entire Korean people to achieve their national aspirations on the basis of the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and the great union of the nation. We sincerely hope that, to that end, North and South Korea will continue their dialogue in accordance with the spirit of the North-South Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972.

If progress in that direction has not yet been made, the only ones to blame are the leaders in Seoul who flagrantly violate the commitments they have entered into.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has through concrete acts demonstrated that it is firmly determined to act consistently to create conditions favourable to the peaceful and democratic reunification of Korea and to extinguish the hotbed of tension in the Korean peninsula. On its initiative, and on the basis of its proposals, as we know, in 1972 the North-South Joint Communiqué was adopted, containing a statement of the principles for reunification.

And then it was again the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea which, on 23 June 1973, presented the five-point programme for the reunification of Korea. This afternoon, in this chamber, the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Li Jong Mok, the head of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, whose presence among

us we warmly welcome, has clearly and in detail presented the position and the proposals of his country regarding the specific ways and means for eliminating tension in Korea, increasing confidence between the North and the South, ensuring a durable peace and achieving the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

As regards the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1, we note that it does not respond to the aspirations of the Korean people because it does not deal with the essence of the problem—that is, the elimination of foreign interference in Korea and the independent reunification of the country. Furthermore, the term “independence” is conspicuous by its absence from the entire draft resolution, and the text contains obvious contradictions. Thus, in the second operative paragraph, the text speaks of new arrangements designed to replace the Armistice Agreement, while the third and fourth operative paragraphs insist on the need to ensure the maintenance and continued observation of the Armistice Agreement. The road to peace becomes too long and too obscure, when what is suggested is the substitution of one temporary measure by another. Really, one cannot but think that the provisional is what lasts.

However, even if we concede that the authors of this draft are speaking of replacing the Armistice Agreement, they do not tell us what those new arrangements designed to replace the Armistice Agreement would be. Would it not be normal to think that the best arrangement would be a peace agreement?

As regards the fourth operative paragraph, it is, to say the least, vague. The foreign armed troops stationed in Korea will not *ipso facto* vanish into thin air merely because the United Nations Command is dissolved. In order that none of those foreign troops now placed under the United Nations flag should remain they must really be withdrawn from South Korea and not be maintained there under another cover.

Romania has never ceased to militate for respect for the inalienable right of the Korean people to decide their own destiny. My country resolutely supports the just struggle of the Korean people for the peaceful and independent reunification of their country on the basis of the five-point proposal presented by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. We reject any attempts to create two Koreas and to render permanent the division of that nation.

In conformity with our position of principle regarding the need to liquidate foreign military bases and to withdraw all foreign troops from the territory of other States, Romania de-

clares itself resolutely in favour of the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag.

The visit of President Kim Il Sung to Romania this year was a new occasion to reaffirm the complete solidarity of the Romanian people with the just struggle of the Korean people for the peaceful, democratic and independent reunification of their country. At that time a treaty of friendship and co-operation between our two countries was signed by President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Kim Il Sung. Article X of that treaty stipulates that:

"The high contracting parties pronounce themselves against any attempt by imperialism designed to dismember other States and against the policy of oppression and domination of other peoples.

"We shall resolutely militate in the future also for the withdrawal of aggressive foreign troops from South Korea, and for the solution of the problem of the reunification of Korea by the Koreans themselves in an independent and peaceful manner on the basis of democratic principles."

I should like to end by stating that my delegation considers that the time has come to take resolute measures to release the United Nations from the trap it was pushed into 25 years ago and to correct the consequences of a mistake which is still an onerous burden on its activities and its prestige. We believe that conditions now exist to make the United Nations a genuine instrument of cooperation and of the solution of the major problems confronting mankind, by relieving it of a cumbersome inheritance dating back to an obsolete era. That is our right and our responsibility.

My delegation appeals to the members of this Committee to support the draft resolution sponsored by 42 countries because in our opinion it proposes measures that accord with both the principles of the United Nations and the legitimate rights and fundamental interests of the Korean people. We are convinced that by acting thus the General Assembly will give concrete proof of its ability to encourage positive processes in Korea and to contribute to the building of a just and durable peace in that region and the entire world.



## ITOUA

### Congo

I should like to congratulate the Chairman particularly warmly and also the other officers of the First Committee and to assure them of our entire co-operation. We are convinced that under their highly skilled leadership the proceedings of our important Committee will be most successful.

In this year when we celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the United Nations, it is faced once again with a problem which is disturbing from many standpoints and as old as the Organization itself. That is the question of Korea which is both a challenge and one of the most flagrant injustices of our time; its victim was the glorious Korean people which, after a long national liberation struggle, full of self-sacrifice, against colonialism, had to suffer the arbitrary division of its country and hence is unable to occupy its lawful place within our Organization. In this regard, the People's Republic of the Congo believes that it is high time for the international community to make the United States, the enemy of a small people whose only and burning desire and unanimous wish is to live and build its country in peace, come to its senses.

That is why my delegation, inspired by the will to work sincerely to seek ways and means of promoting a rapid settlement of this problem, is happy, along with a considerable number of other countries, to co-sponsor the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.709 which recommends, *inter alia*, the dissolution of the United Nations Command, the withdrawal from South Korea of all foreign armed forces stationed there under the United Nations flag and the replacement of the Armistice Agreement by a peace agreement, and we think that this should be given high priority.

We are particularly happy because the Congolese revolution, true to its basic objectives, has always supported and continues actively to support, as it does in all just causes, the



profound aspirations of the Korean people for an independent and genuine reunification of its country.

In this regard, we have to note that since 1945, the year when Korea was unjustly divided, the achievement of this objective has not come any closer in spite of the many proposals and relevant suggestions of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the support of peace-loving countries. International imperialism, engaging in all sorts of manoeuvres, thus bears the entire responsibility for the serious situation in Korea, a situation which is a threat to international peace and security.

Several delegations which have spoken before me have deplored the fact that the United States, contrary to the provisions of paragraph 60 of article 4 and paragraph C of article 13 of the Armistice Agreement, have continued to station in the south of the Korean peninsula a considerable number of troops under the flag of the United Nations and, what is more, have been strengthening their arsenal every day. This has created a situation of tension and, as we have stressed before, a permanent state of insecurity in the region.

That is why we consider as pure invention the statements of imperialism that there is an alleged threat of invasion of the south of Korea by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

We want to make it quite clear that we condemn foreign occupation and the flagrant intervention of imperialism in the internal affairs of Korea. The United States of America must, without delay, withdraw its troops from Korea and put an unconditional end to the South Korean/United States mutual defence Treaty.

We are happy to note that the will of all the Korean people to bring about, in complete independence, the peaceful reunification of their divided country, remains unshakeable.

That is why the People's Republic of the Congo warmly welcomed the Joint North-South Communiqué of 4 July 1972 which, because of the principles contained therein, in the view of my delegation still constitutes a useful basis for negotiations between the two parts of Korea. Furthermore, the relevance of that agreement, which we hardly need to stress, was confirmed at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations when my own country, along with other peace and justice-loving countries took an active part in the search for ways and means to make it possible for the Korean people themselves to settle, peacefully and without any foreign inter-

vention, the problem of their divided country. We believe that it is more than ever indispensable now for the three principles of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea to be scrupulously respected and applied by the United States of America and the authorities of South Korea.

But unfortunately the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev. 1, far from formulating, and assisting in a correct solution of the Korean problem is actually an attempt to have the United Nations endorse the division of Korea which the co-sponsors of this draft resolution want to be permanent. Indeed, that draft resolution, although it recommends, on certain conditions, the dissolution of the United Nations Command, an instrument of aggression in the hands of imperialism, makes no reference to the withdrawal of foreign armed forces from South Korea, a withdrawal which, in the view of my delegation, is the core of the problem involved in the Korean situation. There is no doubt that this omission is not liable to bring about a peaceful settlement of the problem.

We claim, therefore, that any attempt to solve the Korean problem which would set aside the examination of the question of the withdrawal of foreign troops—a very important precondition for the reunification and the restoration of peace in Korea and in the area—would necessarily meet with the opposition of all the Korean people and the other peoples of the world.

That is why my delegation considers unacceptable the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1 of 14 October 1975. We remain convinced that the First Committee—and no one doubts its objectivity and effectiveness—will be able to avoid falling into this trap.

We, for our part, feel that if the United States Government really wants Korea to be reunited, that great Power must put an unconditional end to the occupation of South Korea by its troops. The people of South Korea, encouraged by the great achievements in the northern half of the country, are struggling energetically to overthrow the fascist military dictatorship of Pak Jung Hi and to achieve, in the context of the freedom they have recovered, the liberation and reunification of their country. We must remember that Korea belongs to the whole Korean people. That is how it must be.

My delegation, therefore, would like to repeat its profound conviction that the just struggle of the Korean people, thanks to the support of the other peoples of the world, is bound to prevail.



## JAROSZEK

Poland

I realize, Mr. Chairman, that speaking after Ambassador Baroody, I am at a disadvantage, but at least I can promise one thing, that I shall try to be brief and confine myself to those aspects of the question which fall under the scope of discussion in

this Committee.

Mr. Chairman, the representatives of Poland, speaking before me on other items of the agenda of this Committee, have already congratulated you on your election to the Chairmanship of this body and on the excellent discharge of your responsible duties. On my own part, I should only like to add my personal satisfaction at seeing you, Mr. Ambassador, my good colleague and neighbour, in the Chair of this Committee, and to wish you full success in the performance of your important task. I should like to assure you of the full co-operation of the Polish delegation. The same goes, of course, to the other officers of the Committee.

On behalf of the Polish delegation I should like, in the first place, to extend our cordial and fraternal welcome to the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, headed by Comrade Li Jong Mok, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. This is the third time that the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is participating in the General Assembly's debate on the question of Korea, thus making the very important contribution of the Korean people to our deliberations and to the decisions we are bound to take.

It is with special attention that we are following the very active role played by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in international life, both on the bilateral and multilateral plane. The current year has offered many an example of such a role, which resulted in strengthening even further the international standing of People's Korea. The foreign policy of the

Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is guided by the paramount objective of strengthening international peace and developing fruitful co-operation with all States, in the spirit of peaceful coexistence and in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Also, on the domestic front, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, under the leadership of President Kim Il Sung, has scored great achievements in all fields of socialist construction.

People's Poland, which is linked with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea by close and well-tested relations of friendship and solidarity, is following with great interest, sympathy and appreciation, the outstanding successes achieved by People's Korea.

The Polish delegation on more than one occasion has presented from this rostrum my country's position on the Korean question. During consecutive sessions of the General Assembly, we were among the delegations working actively to take concrete steps aimed at the creation of favourable conditions for accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, without any foreign interference.

Such an activity is but a manifestation of Poland's consistent stand and its involvement in the defence of the fundamental rights and interests of the entire Korean people. Both in the Security Council and in the General Assembly, Poland has always been opposed to any intervention in Korea, including the one camouflaged by the United Nations flag, indeed contrary to the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations. In the years of war we were taking strong efforts aimed at the termination of hostilities and at bringing justice and peace to the Korean people.

Poland's involvement in the efforts aimed at bringing peace to the Korean peninsula and defending the interests of the Korean people, were certainly one of the factors which accounted for our invitation to be a member of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission in Korea, a duty for peace, which my country has been fulfilling ever since.

Consequently, in the following years Poland has spared no effort in the United Nations forum to liquidate the infamous involvement of the United Nations in Korea, to eliminate all the remnants symbolizing the cold-war period. Thanks to the persistent activities of all the peace-loving nations, significant progress has been achieved towards this end. The important sign of the new trend was the decision of the General Assembly at its

twenty-eighth session on the dissolution without delay of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK)—an ill-conceived body which was never really meant to serve the purposes which its misleading name seemed to imply. Yet, still pending is the question of withdrawal from south Korea of all foreign troops stationed under the United Nations flag and dissolution of the so-called United Nations Command.

Doing away with the so-called United Nations presence in Korea would mean, we are convinced, the elimination for ever of the last remnants and by-products of the cold war period, which are a total denial of the present phase of international relations and the image of the United Nations of today.

Such an action, tantamount as it is to the dissolution of the United Nations Command and the withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed on Korean soil, would create favourable conditions helping the further normalization of the situation on the Korean peninsula and the dialogue between the south and north of Korea, and would thus harmonize with the over-all trend in developments in the international situation, those of détente, normalization, extinguishing of conflicts, easing tensions and the strengthening of international peace and security on a global and regional scale.

The Polish delegation firmly believes that in these processes the question of Korea, as it stands now, cannot be left aside. If the process of détente is to be solid and all-embracing, it must include a settlement of the Korean question which 22 years after the Armistice Agreement came into force, still awaits its lasting and durable solution.

Indeed, such postulates conform with the most vital interests and important goals of the entire Korean people, their national unity and reunification by peaceful means.

The Polish delegation is firmly convinced that it is the duty of the United Nations to contribute effectively to the only reasonable solution of the problem. The best way that it can be done is by the adoption and implementation of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709, submitted by more than 40 Member States, including Poland.

The sponsors of the draft resolution proceed from the assumption that it is the duty of all Member States, a duty based on the Charter of the United Nations, to respect the principles of equality, self-determination and non-intervention. Consequently, they consider that in conformity with these principles is the encouragement of the Korean people to achieve the reuni-

fication of its country on the basis of the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity, and the creation of favourable conditions for it.

Therefore, the sponsors are proposing that the General Assembly declare itself for the dissolution of the United Nations Command and for the withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed in south Korea under the flag of the United Nations.

The operative part of the draft resolution also calls upon the real parties to the Armistice Agreement to replace the Korean Military Armistice Agreement by a peace agreement as a measure to ease tension and maintain and consolidate peace in Korea in the context of the dissolution of the "United Nations Command" and the withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed in south Korea under the flag of the United Nations. Thus, such a replacement of the Armistice Agreement by a peace agreement would formally terminate the state of war, and by the same token would create favourable conditions for the reunification of Korea.

Further, the General Assembly should urge the north and the south of Korea to observe the principles of the North-South Joint Statement of 4 July 1972, and to take practical measures for easing arms reinforcement, reducing the armed forces of both sides, preventing the use of force against the other side and thus accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

The Polish delegation is convinced that the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.709 speaks for itself. We therefore appeal to Member States for its adoption. My delegation is convinced that the implementation of the postulates contained in our draft would be in the best interests of the entire international community, because it would contribute favourably to the strengthening of international peace and security in that particular region and in the world at large. It would also constitute a positive accomplishment of the United Nations, and hence strengthen the role and prestige of our Organization.



## HOLLAI

### Hungary

During the general debate in the plenary General Assembly at the current session there was hardly any speaker who did not give some thought to the efforts made by our Organization to attain the objectives which the founders of the United Nations laid down in the Charter 30 years ago. While emphasizing the correctness and continuing validity of these objectives, virtually all of us have been mindful that we are able to solve the much more complex and complicated tasks of our present-day world only in greater interdependence, in a climate of mutual trust and understanding, and with a higher degree of co-operation. This process has been released by a spirit that is of growing predominance in our mutual relations, a spirit that we and many others who join us in increasing numbers call the spirit of peaceful co-operation and coexistence.

The growing signs of the relaxation of international tension serve to make us confident that, on the basis of this reality—and this alone—which is the distinct mark of our time, the United Nations will be able to have success also in facing up to the new tasks that lie ahead. In this endeavour, however, we shall seek in common to correct all the mistakes made by our Organization during the period of the cold war. We are in duty bound to do so, among other reasons, because failure to solve these questions remains a handicap in our efforts to strengthen the atmosphere of confidence so necessary for concerted actions and does nothing but absorb our energies. Further, this is our duty because the said fallacies amount to committing grave sins against such peace-loving peoples with a great history of thousands of years as the Korean people.

Having heard the debate in the plenary General Assembly, we can once again be convinced that the overwhelming majority of us are indeed aware of the need to build the world-wide structure of peace and security on firm and enduring founda-

tions which serve to ensure our manifold co-operation in the interests of our respective peoples and to free our relations from the very possibility of a military confrontation—for we still see some hotbeds of tension that could give rise to such a confrontation surviving in different parts of our globe, among them one on the Korean peninsula.

My country, together with more than 40 other States, has sponsored the draft resolution entitled "Creation of favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea" (A/C.I./L.709). On what motivation do we act?

First, we believe that the tension artificially created on the peninsula by a military aggression against Korea poses a serious threat to security not only in Asia but also in the world as a whole.

Secondly, we are convinced that our Organization will be unable to cope with the new tasks of our time so long as it has not done away completely with the harmful heritage of the past. For this to be achieved it should give priority to the solution of the Korean question, because it has to repair no less a sin than that of having provided a screen, in contravention of its own purposes, for the aggression of an imperialist great Power and having thereby facilitated the artificial division of the people of Korea.

Thirdly, we are aware that the Korean people as a whole, speaking the same language and sharing a common historical heritage and common national traditions, ardently desire to be reunited in their ancient land with a past of several thousand years and are looking forward in confidence to our decision here in furtherance of that pursuit.

Fourthly, our Government and people are bound together by close ties of friendship with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and we are glad to know that we have been able to contribute our share to its people's success in building a new society. We reiterate also in this forum our readiness to continue to give every assistance, as we have in the past, in the achievement of this goal.

Fifthly, we extend our sympathy to that part of the Korean people which is suffering from the ruthless oppression by the south Korean regime created by imperialist aggression. Its resistance to its traitors and the servitors thereof is winning new friends for its just cause.

Sixthly, we think that the common will of the entire Korean people is reflected in the North-South Joint Statement of 4 July



1972 which, taking account of the realities, charted the way for the country's peaceful reunification, free from interference by outside forces and following principles that cannot but enjoy support from the entire community of nations.

Seventhly, in common with a significant number of States Members of our world Organization, we support the efforts of our Korean friends to have the Armistice Agreement replaced with a peace agreement as an important stage on the road to the country's reunification. I should like to mention on this score that my delegation is firmly in support of all the concepts and ideas which our friend Deputy Foreign Minister Li Jong Mok, the head of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, has put forward in our Committee with this end in view.

Eighthly, we have clearly in mind that the military occupation of part of the peninsula is the main obstacle to the conclusion of a peace agreement. We therefore join with the Korean people in their legitimate demand, made by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and supported by many of us, for the immediate dissolution of the United Nations Command and the simultaneous withdrawal of the United States troops of occupation stationed in south Korea. We reject out of conviction those calumnies which are used to justify the maintenance of the military occupation on the pretext of some sort of threat from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. What a falsehood lies hidden in these calumnies, for the aggression was committed not by the Korean people but against them, with the resultant national division, which the aggressors attempted to sanction by a provisional armistice agreement failed to secure an enduring peace in that country and in that region of the world. The Korean people have never committed an aggression against another people during their long history of thousands of years. Throughout its existence the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has never pursued aggressive ends, but quite the contrary, it has been working for the peaceful elimination of the harmful consequences of a criminal aggression.

Our delegation is confident that, as a result of the debate on this agenda item, sober judgement will prevail over the damaging biases of the past. It is with a desire to promote this goal and to put on record our appreciation that, as against the transparent calumnies, I wish to point to the fact that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is guided by the spirit of the Joint Communiqué in seeking and putting forward its very realistic and reasonable conceptual approaches to the practical re-

alization of the unification of the Korean people. What do our Korean friends propose in effect to do in the search for a solution once the United Nations Command has been dissolved and the military occupation of south Korea terminated? It will suffice to refer to some of the proposals that are well known to us all.

First, replacement of the provisional Armistice Agreement by a peace agreement between the parties concerned in order to secure the durable peace of the area. One of the interested parties is the Korean people as a whole, united and indivisible by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Such a peace agreement would be a significant contribution to achieving an enduring security not only in Asia but also on the international scale.

Secondly, among the proposals made by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the quest of reunification, with respect to the period following the conclusion of a peace agreement, we regard as realistic the considerable reduction of the armed forces of the north and the south and the parallel discontinuation of armaments. We share the view that these are conditions essential to a lasting peace and an independent and peaceful reunification.

Thirdly, as a logical consequence of the above measures, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea wishes to create a broad national united front to rally all patriotic Koreans for the concrete elaboration and realization of the modalities of carrying forward the process of peaceful and independent reunification.

These goals and propositions I have mentioned are consistent both with the purposes of the Charter of our Organization and with the endeavours of all peace-loving peoples on behalf of a lasting peace and security as well as with the principles of wider and mutually advantageous co-operation among States. We earnestly hope, as we always have, that the patriotic and strong Korean people will be able to achieve peaceful reunification. Let me quote from the speech delivered by Kim Il Sung, the leader of the Korean people, on 23 June 1973:

**"Our proposal is to remove military confrontation and ease tension between the north and south, materialize many-sided collaboration and interchange between the two parts, convene the Great National Congress composed of representatives of people of all strata and political parties and social organizations in the north and south, institute the north-south Confederation under the**

**single name of the Confederal Republic of Koryo and enter the United Nations under the single name of the Confederal Republic of Koryo”.**

Our delegation is hopeful that after the lapse of the past 30 years our Organization will at last make its due contribution to the achievement of the above-mentioned legitimate goals of the Korean people. By so doing, it will not only rectify past mistakes but, giving testimony to its maturity and complying with the noble aims of its Charter, will also effectively contribute to the great cause of international peace and security.



## VONGSAY

### Laos

The Laotian delegation is pleased to have this opportunity to participate in the debate which began this week on the Korean question, for which the international community earnestly hopes for a settlement.

Before explaining the views of my Government on this distressing problem, I should like to extend to the Chairman and to the other officers of the Committee my warm congratulations on their unanimous election to their posts on the First Committee of the General Assembly. The choice in selecting the Chairman was a judicious one and is a tribute to his qualities as an experienced diplomat, and particularly to his country, for which Laos has great esteem and sympathy. We are well aware that at the present time it is passing through a period of distress and trouble with courage and heroism.

The Korean problem is not a new one. It is already 30 years old. But to date no solution has been found for this tragic problem, whose grievous consequences have been borne stoically by the Korean people as a whole. That country was once a single country, but it was divided in 1945 against the will of its people. The United Nations from the very beginning has been dealing with this Korean problem, but instead of seeking to find a satisfactory final solution to this problem, our Organization has confined itself to producing a temporary palliative. Thus an Armistice Agreement was signed in July 1953 endorsing the division of Korea into two parts. The parties to this Agreement were, on the one hand, the Supreme Command of the People's Army of Korea and the Command of the Volunteers of the Chinese people, and, on the other hand, the Command of the United Nations Forces. We know that under the terms of the Armistice Agreement a high level political conference was to have been convened with a view to discussing the problem of the withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea. Unfortunately

that political meeting never took place, in spite of the positive actions taken in 1954 by the North Korean and Chinese delegations in Geneva.

In 1958 the Chinese People's Volunteers, anxious to find a final solution to the Korean problem, decided on their own account to withdraw from the north of Korea. But the United States of America did not feel that it should do likewise. That is not all. The United States of America has since that time strengthened the puppet régime which they created in Seoul, South Korea. The economic and military assistance provided to that administration by the United States of America has been increasing every year, so that South Korea has now become a powerful military base for American imperialism. They have even the most sophisticated modern weapons and devices. Reliable observers do not fail to point out that the United States of America is in the process of preparing, with its protégés, a most devastating war of aggression against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The international community should not remain aloof in the face of the aggravation of the situation in the Korean peninsula which may endanger peace in Asia and in the Far East.

My delegation does not doubt the sincerity with which our Organization has been facing this urgent question. Thus, in 1973 at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly, representatives of the two parts of Korea were for the first time invited to participate in the debate on the problem of their country. It will be recalled that on the question of Korea the General Assembly adopted a consensus calling on the two parties to continue their dialogue on the basis of the three principles contained in the Joint Communiqué signed by the North and the South on 4 July 1972. These three principles are: independence, reunification and national unity. At the same time, the General Assembly decided to dissolve the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, the invidious role of which requires no further explanation. Since then the puppet régime in Seoul, supported in this by American imperialism, has continually obstructed the implementation of the consensus of the General Assembly.

With respect to the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, it is still persisting in its patient efforts to create conditions favourable for the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea.

Last year at the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly the subject of Korea came up again. A draft resolution

was submitted by Algeria and 37 other countries. That draft resolution was entitled, "Withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations". The Laotian delegation feels that that initiative was entirely in keeping with the most ardent wishes and lawful aspirations of the whole Korean people and of all peace and justice loving peoples throughout the world. That initiative was also entirely in keeping with the spirit of the General Assembly consensus of 1973 and particularly with the spirit and letter of the Joint Communiqué of July 1972, which I have already mentioned.

Unfortunately, the United States of America, anxious as it is still to hold back the process of the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea, submitted for the consideration of the General Assembly its own draft resolution, with certain other countries as sponsors. The United States made clear its readiness to implement the consensus, but it refused to withdraw its troops from South Korea. Naturally that attitude is contrary to the recommendation of the consensus and the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972, which stipulates, I repeat, the principle of independence which should be the basis for the reunification of Korea. In plain language, this means that reunification must be brought about in an atmosphere free from outside interference, namely, American troops.

The United States of America replied that the American presence in South Korea was justified by the United States-South Korean bilateral military defence agreement. This argument, in the view of my delegation, is specious. It is contrary to the provisions of the Armistice Agreement itself. The question of Korea is still, therefore, unsettled. But the third world countries, the socialist countries and all peace and justice loving peoples in the world have not lost hope and continue to believe in truth and in the fact that the truth cannot be concealed indefinitely.

That is why at this session of the General Assembly the question of Korea is being debated once again. Algeria has submitted a draft resolution, of which my country, along with 40 other countries, is a sponsor. This draft resolution relates to the creation of favourable conditions for converting the Armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

According to this draft resolution, three conditions are necessary for the settlement of the Korean problem. First, the "United Nations Command" must be dissolved and all foreign troops stationed in South Korea must be withdrawn—that is,

those troops stationed there under cover of the United Nations. Secondly, the parties directly concerned in the Armistice Agreement—that is, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States of America—should discuss the necessary conditions for replacing that Agreement with a genuine peace agreement. Thirdly, and last, the North and South of Korea are called upon scrupulously to comply with the provisions of the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972. This is a just and reasonable proposal which takes full account of the lawful aspirations of the whole Korean people, if we do not wish to deny them their sacred and inviolable right to determine their own destiny.

On 27 June last, the United States and other countries submitted to the United Nations a draft resolution advocating the dissolution of the "United Nations Command". My delegation believes that that draft resolution is in fact aimed only at maintaining tension on the Korean peninsula. It makes no reference whatsoever to the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea. In the view of my delegation, all it is aimed at is the legalization and sanctioning of the presence of American troops in South Korea, which is contrary to the wishes of the General Assembly as expressed in the consensus with which we are all familiar.

As for the "revised draft resolution" in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1, recently submitted by a number of countries including the United States, the Laotian delegation feels its proposals are inconsistent and contradictory. The draft advocates, among other things, dissolution of the "United Nations Command" and implementation of the General Assembly consensus of 28 November 1973. But, at the same time, its sponsors claim it is necessary to maintain the Armistice Agreement in order to ensure "the maintenance of international peace and security". In our view this is a flagrant contradiction, because logically and legally it is impossible to dissolve the United Nations Command without replacing the Armistice Agreement by a peace agreement. The United Nations Command is one of the parties to the Armistice Agreement. If that signatory were to disappear, the Armistice Agreement would have no further meaning. Furthermore, the draft resolution as revised makes no mention of the withdrawal of American troops from South Korea. We believe the presence of American troops in that part of the world causes tension and the situation is liable to deteriorate at any moment, thus endangering peace and security in the area. These are the facts. The Laotian delegation cannot agree with those who claim that the danger of aggression a-

gainst South Korea comes from North Korea. As we see it, it is the other way around. My delegation really knows what it is talking about. At the height of the Indo-China war, particularly in Viet-Nam, the fascist and reactionary administration of Seoul sent its troops to fight savagely against the Viet-Name people at the side of the American troops. The Laotian delegation has already had occasion to condemn and unreservedly to deplore the acts of aggression committed by American and South Korean troops against the Viet-Name people. We did so in August last in Lima at the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned Countries. In the Security Council on 29 September last, we again did so in the debate on the problem of the admission to the United Nations of the People's Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam.

In Laos itself, under the old régime, which maintained diplomatic relations with the Seoul administration, it had already been observed that South Korean diplomats were undertaking acts of subversion with the collusion of the CIA and their local lackeys. At the time of the rising of the Laotian people, in May last, to overthrow the corrupt former régime in the pay of American imperialists and to establish the revolutionary and democratic power of the people, South Korean diplomats fled to Thailand along with a group of Laotian rightist reactionaries who were traitors to their motherland. Laos, under the new régime, took the salutary decision at that time to break off diplomatic relations with the puppet régime in Seoul. It is well known now that Laos, Viet-Nam and Cambodia have been entirely freed from neo-colonialist domination by the American imperialists. The three countries have thus actively contributed to the maintenance and strengthening of peace and security in South-East Asia, in the Far East and in the world.

A hotbed of war continues to exist on the Korean peninsula today, and its elimination can be brought about only through the adoption and implementation of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709 submitted by Algeria, of which my country and 40 others are sponsors.

My delegation listened with great interest to the statement made yesterday afternoon by the head of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Li Jong Mok, and I should like warmly to welcome him here. Honest observers will naturally have been struck by the sincerity and justice of the concrete proposals made by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic



of Korea with regard to the process of the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea. My delegation sincerely hopes that those wise proposals will be welcomed by the General Assembly.



## EL HASSEN

### Mauritania

Mr. Chairman, speaking for the first time in this Committee, I would like to reiterate the congratulations to the officers of the Committee which have already been expressed by my delegation.

Having decided to give priority consideration to the Korean question this year, the First Committee quite rightly decided to focus the attention of the United Nations on the Korean problem. This choice was easy to understand because the situation prevailing in the Korean peninsula threatens the interest of an entire people as well as the peace and security of an entire region. Thirty years have elapsed since Korea was divided into north and south, and 22 years since the Armistice Agreement was signed.

Despite the commitments undertaken by the parties to the Armistice Agreement, signed on 27 July 1953, there has not yet been a reunification of Korea. However one of the provisions of the aforementioned agreement, in paragraph 60, article 4, stipulates the following:

"In order to ensure the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, the military Commanders of both sides hereby recommend to the governments of the countries concerned on both sides that, within three (3) months after the Armistice Agreement is signed and becomes effective, a political conference of a higher level of both sides be held by representatives appointed respectively to settle through negotiation the questions of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea, the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, etc." (S/3079, pp. 34 and 35)

Three years before the signing of the Agreement, the Security Council decided in resolution S/1511 dated 27 June 1950, to set up the United Nations Command in Korea.

Despite the situation prevailing at the time, which made it

possible to adopt that resolution, the dispatch of a United Nations force to Korea and the signing of the Armistice Agreement of 1953 by the Commander of that force, represent acts which directly involve the United Nations in Korea.

The responsibility unlawfully entrusted to our Organization, involving each and every Member, compelled the General Assembly to seek ways and means to achieve a final settlement of the Korean problem. However, our Organization's attitude over the past few years towards the tragic saga of the Korean people is now being viewed as culpable complacency and a failure to discharge its obligations.

Because of this situation and, at the same time, in order to avoid making the United Nations both the judge and a party to the Korean problem, a number of countries, including my own, suggested to the First Committee two years ago to take new measures in the light of the new situation.

The concerted approach by these countries was based on the following considerations: first, that this step was justified in view of the changes observed in Korea since the Joint North-South Communiqué issued on 4 July 1972, expressed the wish of both parties to settle the dispute by peaceful means.

That Communiqué states three principles to be observed: first, the reunification should be achieved independently, without reliance upon outside force or its interference; secondly, the reunification of the country should be achieved by peaceful means, without recourse to the use of arms against the other side; thirdly, great national unity should be promoted in order to build a sovereign nation which would transcend existing differences regarding ideology or systems.

The second consideration was based on the fact that the United Nations flag has been used in Korea for 30 years. Indeed, the presence of what we might call the United Nations force in Korea, far from promoting a unification of the north and south, has instead contributed to maintaining the *status quo* for the obvious purpose of making the 38th parallel a permanent border. This action of the pseudo United Nations force can be understood quite easily because instead of being composed of contingents from neutral countries it now consists of troops from a country which is itself a party to the conflict. This paradoxical situation has been admitted by that country itself.

It was therefore this set of considerations which prompted the submission of a draft resolution, during the twenty-eighth session by the countries I have just mentioned, the obvious

purpose of which was to put an end to the use of the United Nations flag and to the presence of the United Nations Force in Korea.

The decision taken by the General Assembly at that session to dissolve the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea was indeed a very important step that reflected the concern of most Member States to put an end to one form of interference by our Organization in Korean affairs.

That act of faith on the part of the United Nations should be followed by other measures, in particular by the dissolution of the United Nations Command in Korea. In calling for the dissolution of the Force, the aim we have in view is not to deny to the United Nations all possibility of playing a role in the search for a solution to the Korean problem; on the contrary, the dissolution of that Force, by restoring to the United Nations its role of arbiter, would also allow it to remove the cloak of legitimacy still being used by the foreign occupation troops in Korea by virtue of their use of the United Nations flag. Such measures would be not only a further step in the process begun at the twenty-eighth session but would, at the same time, be in complete harmony with the wishes of the Korean people, as everything indicates that without foreign interference, the two parties to the conflict would seek to find a solution to the tragedy that divides the Korean people. Their desire to do so, which is made evident in various official documents published jointly by the North and the South, cannot be met until an end is put to the presence of foreign troops and to the influence still being exercised by them in the southern part of Korea.

The United Nations, for its part, should no longer allow its flag to be used for the purpose of legitimizing the occupation and division of a small country by a great Power.

The First Committee, to which the question of Korea is submitted for consideration, must recommend to the General Assembly the measures to be taken by the United Nations in discharging its responsibility in the situation prevailing in Korea. Furthermore, the Committee should invite both parties to the Armistice Agreement, namely the United States and North Korea, to begin negotiations aimed at replacing that Agreement with a final peace agreement.

Such measures, if implemented, will make it possible to reduce tension and to maintain and strengthen peace in Korea. Then it will be up to the Korean people, under the auspices of

the United Nations and free from all outside interference, to seek out ways and means for safeguarding their national identity, with regard to their territorial integrity, their independence and their unity.

Thirty years represents the lifetime of an entire generation. Throughout this whole period, the Korean people has lived through the cruelest tragedy of its history. In rejecting the dual occupation that threatened them, the Korean people did not hesitate to pay the highest price a people can pay in order to safeguard its dignity and independence. During these 30 years, despite the legitimacy of its cause the United Nations has remained helpless in the face of this tragedy. The fact that during these 30 years our Organization has studied a new mode of action and a new approach, and that the United Nations has been in a position to take the necessary decision putting an end to the existence of the United Nations Commission in Korea is due to the circumstance that since our Organization first gave its attention to Korean affairs, the number of United Nations Members has more than doubled and today reflects almost the entirety of international public opinion. This change that has taken place over the years has aroused in various States a desire to correct the error committed in the name of the United Nations a full 30 years ago. That error lies in the perpetuation of a paradoxical situation in which one State, a party to a conflict, has been using the flag of the United Nations to legitimize the presence of its troops in another State. While such a mistake could have been made in political circumstances known to all, it can no longer be justified today, nor could its continuation be forced on the United Nations at the present time.

By endorsing this fait accompli and agreeing to act as accomplices in an action the obvious purpose of which is to keep a part of a State under the vassallage of a great Power, the United Nations will itself have created a precedent that will certainly be disturbing to the international community as a whole, and particularly so for the younger States. Our Organization could not agree to such an endorsement.

The Korean people, with its eyes still turned to our Organization, is waiting, with a patience and a dignity worthy of our highest praise, for the First Committee to take a decision based on justice and fairness. I hope that they will not be disappointed in that expectation.



## NACO

### Albania

This is the twenty-fifth year that the Korean question has been under continuous discussion in the United Nations. This item, which has been on the agenda for so long, and the debates on it have demonstrated the inability of our Organization to find a just solution to the problem. Today, after 25 years of debate, an equitable solution has not yet been found because of the obstructionist attitude of the United States, which has constantly tried to use the United Nations to cloak its shameful action in Korea.

Everyone knows that the United Nations bears a great responsibility for the tragedy represented by the division of Korea. For years, American imperialists have tried to cover up their criminal aggression against the Korean people with the name of the United Nations and with United Nations decisions taken many years ago in political conditions quite different from those of the present time and at a time when the United States dictated the rules in our Organization.

We have already stated and should like to emphasize once again that the former decisions taken by the United Nations on the Korean question are completely unjust and contrary to the interests of the Korean people and to the fundamental provisions of the Charter. Those decisions have seriously damaged the reputation and prestige of the United Nations.

In the present international political conditions, at a time when we note an ever-growing awareness by the peoples that they must secure and preserve their sovereign rights, at a time when in the world and in the United Nations itself great changes have occurred in the course of the past 25 years, it is imperative that the injustice of which the Korean people are victims be redressed.

In considering this problem the United Nations should be guided by the noble principles of freedom, independence and

national unity. No debate on the Korean problem, with which Member States are very familiar, will be constructive if we depart from the substance of the problem, which involves the defence of the legitimate rights and primary national interests of the Korean people and of peace and security in the Far East. Our delegation, which maintains the view that Member States must focus their attention on these problems, vigorously rejects all the manoeuvres of the United States, which is seeking to force the Korean problem into deadlock and is trying at any cost to legalize the occupation of South Korea by American armed forces.

Since last year's debate on this subject and following the crushing defeat of the American imperialists in Indo-China, the United States policy of aggression and occupation in South Korea has been intensified. Those responsible for American imperialism speak openly of the importance they attach to South Korea in their military and strategic plans for the Far East. They continue to increase their military arsenal in South Korea, to send additional quantities of nuclear weapons and rockets there, to encourage a war psychosis in South Korea and to organize military manoeuvres aimed at the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. These aggressive preparations, which have very grievous consequences for peace and security in the Korean peninsula and in Asia, are accompanied by statements by high American officials who quite cynically assert that they are ready even to use nuclear weapons against the Korean people.

All these facts prove incontrovertibly that the United States does not wish to give up its policy of military occupation of South Korea and brutal intervention in the domestic affairs of the Korean people. The United States has transformed South Korea into an American colony in which it exploits and oppresses the masses.

The Pak Jung Hi clique, which is in power in South Korea thanks to American bayonets, is exercising a régime of terror, suppressing by force any anti-imperialist movement supporting the legitimate rights of the Korean people and denying the people freedom of expression as regards its own destiny. The South Korean régime is a puppet in the hands of the American imperialists and has nothing in common with the people of Korea. And the delegation of South Korea which has come to this Committee represents nothing. Its members are merely representatives of a clique that has sold itself to the American imperialists and is at the service of the United States policy

of aggression and interference in South Korea. It is quite clear to all that the presence of American troops in South Korea is the main obstacle to the independent reunification of Korea. It is an open intervention against the sovereignty of that country, and it denies the South Korean people their inalienable right to decide freely their own destiny. On many occasions we have stressed that the self-determination of peoples and foreign military occupation are mutually exclusive. For that reason, the independent reunification of the country cannot be achieved as long as American troops remain in South Korea.

In trying by every means to justify its occupation of South Korea and perpetuation of the division of the peninsula into two Koreas, the American imperialists are now beginning to say that their troops will remain in South Korea on the basis of the alleged mutual defence treaty between the United States and South Korea, even should the United Nations Command be dissolved. But this imperialist logic, which is clearly reflected even in the draft resolution (A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1) submitted by the United States, can fool no one. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania considers that draft as another aggressive manoeuvre directed against the Korean people, and we reject it firmly and categorically.

The Korean people must be allowed freely to decide the destiny of its homeland. It is the Korean people which is the master of Korea. It is for the Korean people, and the Korean people alone, to exercise the right of solving the Korean problem, and without any outside interference.

The efforts deployed and the struggle carried on by the courageous and able Korean people under the leadership of its President, Comrade Kim Il Sung, to repulse the foreign military forces from South Korea and to reunify the country are completely legitimate and just. The Korean people, whose traditions of struggle are well known, has always fought for its freedom and independence and is determined to pursue to the end its just cause, the reunification of its homeland. Nothing can halt this struggle or divert it from its course—neither demagogic and diplomatic manoeuvres nor aggressive threats of utilizing thermonuclear weapons. History proves that nothing can daunt a people which is determined to fight to defend its freedom and independence to the very end.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which represents the genuine interests of the Korean people and is its sole legitimate Government, has made tireless



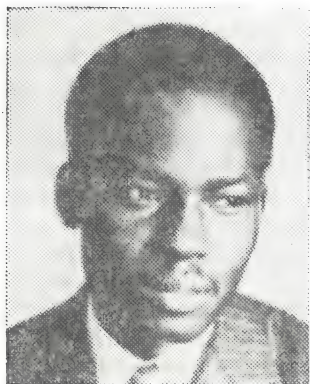
efforts and has frequently submitted constructive proposals aimed at the independent reunification of Korea.

The Albanian delegation warmly welcomes the participation in the work of this Committee of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, headed by the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Comrade Li Jong Mok. At this session of the General Assembly, as in the past, the Korean delegation has submitted concrete proposals aimed at putting an end to the division of the country and at its reunification. These proposals of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which have the support of the Korean people, in the North as well as in the South, are supported also by all freedom-loving peoples and countries throughout the world. That can be seen clearly even here in the United Nations, where a growing number of countries are in favour of the just cause of the Korean people.

The draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709, of 24 September 1975, submitted by Algeria and other States—in which it is requested that the United Nations Command be dissolved and that all foreign troops be withdrawn immediately from South Korea, which is a prerequisite for the creation of favourable conditions for the independent reunification of Korea and the elimination of all foreign interference obstructing reunification—represents an important step towards a just solution of the Korean problem.

The delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Albania fully supports that draft resolution and will vote in favour of it because it reflects the legitimate aspirations of the Korean people. As such, it should be granted priority by being put to the vote before any other draft resolution, as has been requested by the representative of Algeria in his letter of 18 September 1975 addressed to the Secretary-General.

In reiterating the determined stand of the People's Republic of Albania in supporting the just struggle of the fraternal Korean people and of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to obtain the withdrawal of the aggressive American troops from South Korea and to achieve reunification of the country in accordance with the will of the Korean people and without any outside interference, the Albanian delegation repeats its conviction that nothing can prevent the fraternal Korean people from achieving its high national aspiration.



## ADJIBADE

### Dahomey

Once again we are faced with the problem of Korea, which is at once simple and complicated. It would be simple if we were satisfied with the application of the principles which virtually our entire Organization has recognized. But it is complicated because of the relentless desire of a super-Power to impose its views on solution of the problem by using its Korean lackeys to sabotage the efforts of the international community.

Ever since its revolutionary military Government took office, Dahomey has chosen to speak its mind clearly on the subject of the problems of the world, and has tried to contribute to the settlement of those problems in keeping with the principles underlying our foreign policy, and not on the basis of selfish, greedy interests. In taking a stand, Dahomey refuses to take into account individual interests or the interests of Powers which are linked indirectly or fraudulently to the problem in a way which is detrimental to the interests of the parties actually concerned.

On the question of Korea, we will speak the truth, whether it is to your liking or not; we will speak the truth even if it means that some will come to our country to plot against our Government and try to overthrow it. We will speak the truth because the vigilance of the people of Dahomey will foil any plot, regardless of its origins.

Before taking up the substance of the problem, we should like to say that Dahomey has the courage of its convictions; it intends to state its views, regardless of the cost.

For some time, a new method seems to have been adopted: pressure and intimidation have been used by the representatives of a super-Power if we refuse to follow the views of the Americans. For example, last week, in the Third Committee, we witnessed the unsuccessful manoeuvres and threats, to prevent the adoption of the resolution on Zionism as a form of racism.

Dahomey is devoted to the United Nations and will spare no effort to strengthen its role, but if perchance some Powers which preach democracy so skilfully prevent the application of democratic rules whenever they go against their interests, even when this might mean the breakdown of the United Nations, we should like to say once and for all that if because of the folly of the great Powers or the super-Powers the United Nations is brought down or is no longer able to function, that will not be the end of the smaller countries, in particular Dahomey; those that will suffer the most will be the major Powers because of the special responsibilities which, rightly or wrongly, you claim as yours. You would do well to think carefully if it is really your intention to bring about the downfall of the United Nations or to cut off the funds which are necessary for its functioning.

Confirmation of the kind of threats we are referring to would be the abdication by the great Powers and the super-great Powers of their responsibilities, the responsibilities they accepted in signing the Preamble of the Charter of the United Nations, and the entire international community will know how to judge their attitude when the time comes.

Having made that clear, may I now turn to the question before us, namely, the question of Korea. What we must try to do is to establish what conditions will really lead to the reunification of a country divided against the will and desire of its people. The entire Korean population, in the North and in the South, does not accept that division and considers that the primary task of the nation is the reunification of the country. The Koreans themselves, in the North and in the South, are doing their utmost to bring about that reunification, and they would like reunification to be brought about in full independence, without any foreign intervention, peacefully and democratically. In the face of this very clear choice of the Korean people, the duty of the international community is to give disinterested and effective assistance in such a way that the true aspirations of the Korean people will be realized. It goes without saying that in our efforts, no State, no Government, small or medium, great Power or super-Power, has the right to take the place of the Korean people in deciding what course should be adopted to bring about reunification which is, after all, a Korean matter to be settled by the Koreans themselves.

Here may I set forth briefly the views of my Government on this question. To help the Koreans bring about the reunification of their country, the international community must avoid any act which might perpetuate the division. Hence, we must

not entertain the idea of accepting one side or the other as a Member of the United Nations, and we can only welcome what the Security Council did in thwarting the cleverly orchestrated manoeuvres to bring about the admission of South Korea to the United Nations. To help the Koreans reunify their country, the international community must liquidate all foreign military bases and must bring about the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea, whether they are in the North or in the South. If both these conditions were met, Dahomey believes that then the praiseworthy efforts of both Korean Governments, of the North and of the South to move from the stage of confrontation to negotiation, would be strengthened and consolidated.

Our Assembly has been dealing with the question of Korea for many years now, yet Korea remains divided. If we are to achieve anything, we must ask why our efforts have failed, in order to turn our actions in the right direction. There must be no more procrastination; we must do what is required after an honest and objective consideration of the situation; subjectivity must play no role, even if the action required is not in the interests of some. We must recognize that since the consensus of the twenty-eighth session no further progress has been made in the negotiations among the parties concerned. We are tempted to believe that the consensus has slowed down the process of reunification instead of expediting it. That matter requires careful thought if we are not for the third time to take a course of action which is not the right course, to judge by the results. We suggest that we give up expressing pious hopes, that we stop repeating ourselves from one session to the next, that we refuse to associate ourselves with any efforts to sabotage the question of Korea by giving it advisory consideration simply because one super-Power wishes it to be so. At this session we must propose concrete measures which will of necessity prompt the Koreans to bring about the speedy, independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

It is with that aim in mind that Dahomey has joined with a number of other countries in sponsoring draft resolution A/C.1/L.709. It needs little commentary, since its provisions in both the operative and preambular parts of the draft resolution, are clear and precise enough to be self-explanatory, and are all directed to a peaceful and independent reunification by the Koreans themselves, and the Koreans alone, without any foreign interference.

We believe very sincerely that if during the two decades that we have been considering this matter, the reunification of

Korea has not been brought about, it was because the wrong approach was taken to the problem. We sincerely believe that we must change our approach and adopt a new method that will lead the Koreans into a genuine dialogue and into the best course of action to bring about the reunification of the country.

That is what reason dictates, and we urge the international community to adopt that course of action before it is too late, for what happened in Cambodia and was repeated in Viet-Nam could very well happen again in Korea since, as we have said time and time again, "no military force, no matter how powerful or how great, can succeed in suppressing for ever the legitimate aspirations of a people".

We have listened with interest to preceding speakers. We have listened to those who were in favour of the *status quo* and to those who would like to see a new initiative taken. We are not surprised by the display of emotion by those who have followed the same well trodden path and offered us the same old goods since the twenty-eighth session. The only difference is that it is not the same speakers this year as in past years, but the arguments used are the same, and the manoeuvres, the suspicions, the baseless accusations, the appeals for moderation, flexibility, conciliation and consensus are the same. Those who are in favour of the *status quo* seem to forget that every time the General Assembly has done what they have suggested no tangible results have been achieved, except, perhaps, that the maintenance of the occupation of Korea by foreign, so-called United Nations, troops. Do they, then, want us to continue to mark time? In whose interest would that be? It would certainly not be in the interest of the Korean people, and that is why we object to that approach to the problem.

The sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1\*\* should realise that what is wrong with their draft is that its provisions are too hesitant. It reveals that they are aware of the need to create conditions favourable for reunification but, for reasons which may perhaps be beyond them, they refuse to pursue their thought to its logical conclusion. Listening to them, one is struck by the fact that the sponsors of the draft resolution (A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1\*\*) have established a good many premises but have shrewdly managed not to draw the proper conclusions or consequences from them.

In order to justify their views on the transformation of the Armistice Agreement, those who advocate the *status quo* constantly repeat that there is tension and that the threat of a new war looms over Korea. They do not hesitate to assert that the

threat comes from the north, and some have not concealed their resentment against the North Korean authorities and their doubts about accepting the good intentions of the north, particularly those of President Kim Il Sung, and the determination to bring about the peaceful reunification of Korea.

The North Koreans have been called warmongers. They have been accused of wanting war for the sake of war. They have been accused of digging tunnels, without there being any proof that the tunnels had not been dug by those who discovered them. The North Koreans have been accused of preparing to invade the south, while it is forgotten that it is a question of 17 million against 34 million in the south, which makes one think rather of an invasion of the north by those in the south.

It is certainly true that on the uncertain ground of the Korean question reason seems to lose some of its effect. Let us try to be somewhat more sensible and objective in our thinking.

The North Koreans have unilaterally entered into a public commitment before the whole world to renounce the use of force to bring about the reunification of Korea. Why refuse obstinately to believe them and be completely unwilling to have the slightest confidence in them? Why desire always to go back to the situation of 1950, thus disregarding all the developments in international life that have taken place between the 1950s and the 1970s?

I had the honour and the privilege in April last year of talking at length with President Kim Il Sung. He is everything that one would expect him to be, and I found in him nothing of the caricature which some speakers have attempted to portray. President Kim Il Sung wants reunification; he is working for it. He wants a dialogue between the north and the south, otherwise he would not have signed the Joint Communiqué of 1972. But he wants no part of reunification under foreign stewardship regardless of how much pressure is brought to bear. President Kim Il Sung is working for reunification by the Koreans themselves, without foreign interference. Therefore, do not believe that Kim Il Sung has intentions which he does not have, but have some confidence in his statements and the positions he has taken: that is the way to work forth reunification of Korea.

There is only one way to transform the Armistice Agreement: it must be replaced by a peace agreement. One cannot in all honesty replace an armistice agreement by arrangements other than a peace agreement. It is our duty, then, to exhort the parties concerned, the signatories to the Armistice Agreement,

to conclude a peace agreement to remove the aftereffects of the Korean war. The commitments solemnly entered into by the Korean authorities of the north and of the south in the Joint Communiqué of 1972 constitute for us guarantees that there will be no more war for the reunification of Korea.

After all foreign troops have been withdrawn from Korea, after the armistice has become a lasting peace, it will be for the two Koreas to negotiate and take the necessary action to eliminate the state of military confrontation which may exist between the north and the south. It is absurd to believe that anyone is seeking to prevent the south from taking action to guarantee peace in Korea. We must not sow confusion. We must propose a clear, unambiguous approach and advocate that north and south Korea settle matters which can be settled by them and by them alone; only the signatories to the Armistice Agreement should be given the task of converting the armistice into a lasting peace.

That is what the principles of international law would suggest. Nothing prevents the south Koreans from being part of the delegation which will sit under the United Nations flag or from signing a separate peace agreement with the North.

As regards the withdrawal of foreign troops, those who advocate the *status quo* recognize the need for it but lay down certain conditions. A responsible attitude requires that if the United Nations agrees to dissolve the United Nations Command and to withdraw all foreign troops stationed in Korea under the United Nations flag, then the American troops must leave Korea because United Nations troops are, in fact, American troops, and American troops represent in Korea the United Nations forces. A distinction cannot be easily drawn; the two are combined. To defend any other position is to seek unnecessary complications and to support the United States in its violation of the Armistice Agreement, which, in paragraph 13 (c), imposes on the commands of both opposing sides that they cease the introduction into Korea of reinforcing military personnel with the exception of the rotation of units and personnel.

To safeguard peace and security in Korea, the American forces must withdraw from Korea in view of the dangers they represent there. That would make it possible for the Koreans themselves to work towards their reunification on a peaceful and independent basis.

Yesterday we listened to an important statement by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of north Korea, to whom my delegation is pleased to bid welcome. The soundness of the

views and proposals put forward in his statement are capable of convincing those who still have doubts concerning the good faith of the north Korean authorities. We regret and denounce the control which the United States has established for itself in Korea. We believe that American action by proxy must come to an end if we truly wish to bring about a solution in the interest of the Korean people. That is why Dahomey has decided to break off diplomatic relations with south Korea as from 6 October 1975. Dahomey's decision was intended to be taken as a warning. Also, it is a condemnation of American-South Korean collusion.

The draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1 has merit, to be sure, but unfortunately, it is a source of potential conflict and it is unclear. That is why we prefer the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709, which very specifically mentions the conditions which must be established if the Koreans are to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. We venture to hope that the overwhelming majority of the Committee will support the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709.





**BAH**

**Guinea**

Mr. Chairman, in speaking for the first time in this Committee I should like, first, on behalf of my delegation to extend our warmest congratulations to you on your unanimous election to the chairmanship of this important Committee. Your great experience and ability as a diplomat give us reason to believe that our work will reach a successful conclusion.

I should also like to include the officers of the Committee and the Secretary of the Committee in our thanks for the effective way in which they are carrying out their tasks.

At a time when our Committee is once again studying the Korean question my delegation joins with other delegations in restating the position of my Government which has not changed; indeed, it remains in favour of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

It is regrettable that no substantial progress has been made since the last session towards the solution of the Korean problem.

We have listened carefully to the very important statement made by the head of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. This statement once again proves the sincerity of the efforts and the justice of the cause pursued by the north Korean Government with respect to the creation of favourable conditions for the independent reunification of the country.

The reunification of Korea 30 years after its division and 22 years after the conclusion of the Armistice is still not a fact. There is no doubt that reunification would already have been achieved if the Korean people had the possibility of solving the problems of its future without any outside interference.

Following the adoption of important resolutions and decisions at the two previous sessions, it is only natural and logical for the General Assembly to depart from its attitudes of immo-

bility and hesitation and to take a step forward in accordance with the Charter so as to meet the requirements for a settlement to the Korean problem. It is this factor that lends importance to our discussion on the question of Korea at this session.

The General Assembly would discharge its duties by stating clearly and categorically its views on a problem the solution of which cannot be postponed any longer. It must be recognized that the maintenance of foreign troops in south Korea, in other words the continuation of outside interference in the internal affairs of Korea, is the main obstacle to a dialogue between North and South which will ensure independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

It is often said that the withdrawal of the so-called United Nations forces from south Korea, without any guarantee of an application of the Armistice Agreement, might lead to a new war. We feel, however, that it is not the foreign troops in south Korea which are guaranteeing peace in Korea, but it is rather the sincere and peaceful efforts of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the will of the Korean people as a whole which are responsible for this.

Although the Armistice Agreement, which was concluded on 27 July 1953, has only fostered a climate of distrust and tension between North and South, nevertheless there is an urgent need to replace that Agreement by a durable peace. The first step to that end would naturally be the dissolution of the United Nations Command and a withdrawal of all foreign troops from south Korea which, in our opinion, would reduce tension between the North and South.

In this context, it would be interesting to note that the initiatives and proposals of the Government of north Korea are as timely today as ever. Furthermore, that approach would be in keeping with the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972 which expressed the aspirations of the entire Korean population.

We all know that the Korean people has given eloquent proof of its desire to move ahead and to take political and practical steps towards its objective of national reunification. It is because of our concern for the future of the Korean people and the national unity of Korea, that my delegation has joined with other delegations of the non-aligned group in requesting, in draft resolution A/C.1/L.709, that the General Assembly should decide to convert the Armistice Agreement into a peace agreement in Korea.

We have always supported the praiseworthy efforts of the north Korean Government along these lines. We know that the

Democratic People's Republic of Korea has always taken steps —throughout the past 26 years—to achieve the legitimate aspirations of the entire Korean people for peaceful, democratic and independent unification of its country. That Government's concern to achieve this ideal has been reflected in the many proposals and initiatives which led to the adoption of the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972. It is precisely these efforts to achieve a durable peace on the Korean peninsula which have brought the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to membership of several international organizations and, quite recently, to join the group of non-aligned countries.

We have studied the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1 aimed at guaranteeing the Armistice Agreement. We have already had the opportunity to state that this Armistice should be superseded by a durable peace treaty between the North and South. And the first step towards this end would be to dissolve the United Nations Command and to withdraw all troops stationed in south Korea.

It is high time to put an end to the abnormal situation created by the presence of foreign troops in south Korea, contrary to the wishes of the Korean people, since it constitutes an obstacle to national reunification of the country. The General Assembly should, therefore, decide on this withdrawal and should allow the Korean people to exercise its sovereign right of deciding its own destiny.

This is our position and we are convinced that the draft resolution of the non-aligned countries and other countries will be broadly supported by all those who wish to see the creation of conditions favourable to a peaceful and just settlement of the Korean problem.



## ASHTAL

### Democratic Yemen

This year the Korean question is being discussed in the First Committee in the light of important developments which have far-reaching implications. The peoples of Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos crowned their heroic struggle with the achievement of a complete and neat victory over United States imperialism and its lackeys. The lessons are all too clear: no repressive client régimes can prolong their reign of terror by relying on foreign troops and forces; no imperialist military intervention can break the will of a fighting people.

The authorities in Seoul choose to be oblivious of those realities. Instead, they institutionalize their repression by muffling even the mildest of opposition; they harp on the so-called imminent danger from the north, thus inviting more American military involvement. The United States, on the other hand, attempts to cover up the bankruptcy of its military adventurism by hanging on to a government clique in Seoul. That serves two purposes: one is real, the other is imaginary.

First, it keeps its industrial military complex rolling by diverting to Seoul whatever arms were earmarked to Viet-Nam and Cambodia. Thus it postpones economic crises by playing with fire. Secondly, it endeavours to salvage its shrinking influence in East Asia by clinging to an antiquated theory of geopolitics predicated on brute force and utter disregard for the general will of peoples. Yet the lessons are there for everyone to learn.

After decades of debates in this Committee, and a perilous armistice in Korea, we are surprised that the United States is only now anticipating a change of berets: it ostensibly expresses its readiness to stop camouflaging itself with the banner of the United Nations. We certainly have not moved much. Except for the rational decision of some other States to withdraw their troops in time from south Korea, the situation has not changed.

The draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708, even after

its amendment (A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1) only begs the question. It does not contain a new element which could promote the search for a genuine solution. It tends to stabilize the *status quo* by not addressing itself to the real issue, namely, the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in south Korea. It does not even mention the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea—a fact which was agreed upon by north and south Korea in their Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972. Two years after the consensus statement adopted by the General Assembly on 28 November 1973, that draft resolution only expresses the hope that

“...all the parties directly concerned will enter into negotiations on new arrangements designed to replace the Armistice Agreement...”. (A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1)

It is a known fact that south Korea is not a party to that Armistice Agreement. Is this, then, another attempt to inject an extraneous factor, thus further complicating the issue? Since the consensus statement was adopted, no tangible steps have been taken towards negotiation. It is therefore the duty of this Committee clearly to stipulate terms which will stimulate the negotiating process. The withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea is one of them.

The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea maintain friendly relations based on the common struggle against imperialism. As a divided country, we fully understand the aspirations of north Korea to the independent and peaceful reunification of that country. Furthermore, we share their view regarding the withdrawal of all foreign troops from south Korea. In our own region we have consistently called for the total withdrawal of all foreign troops from Oman. We are of the view that a regime which is sustained by a foreign military presence and not by the will of its people can be neither independent nor sovereign. The independent reunification of Korea can take place only when south Korea is itself independent of the United States military presence. That is the real meaning of the withdrawal of all military troops from south Korea.

My delegation is happy to sponsor the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709, which calls upon the real parties to the Armistice Agreement to replace the Korean Military Armistice Agreement by a peace agreement. South Korea is not a party to that Armistice Agreement. The United States Government is called upon to negotiate with north Korea, on whose territory there is not one foreign soldier. In operative paragraph 3, our draft resolution urges the north and the south of Korea to ob-

serve the principles of the North-South Joint Communiqué and to take practical measures to reduce tension in the peninsula. That, we believe, would remove any military confrontation and do away with any justification for the continued presence of foreign troops in south Korea.

The United States, whose permanent representative to the United Nations laments with alarm the waning of the democracies and considers that the majority of States Members of the United Nations are either undemocratic or repressive, should now begin to question its total identification with a repressive regime of the first order. Any rational foreign policy with regard to Korea should take into account the new realities and political developments. After more than two decades of what is a United States military guarantee for south Korea, that country should at least be in a position to discharge its duties independently, the more so since north Korea is free from foreign military presence. Our draft resolution would help the United States to extricate itself from a burdensome foreign commitment and help the Korean people to live in peace and to reunify their country without foreign interference.



## PETRIC

Yugoslavia

Once again, at this session of the General Assembly, we are seized of the question of Korea, as the Assembly failed, at its twenty-ninth session last year, to adopt an appropriate decision along the lines suggested by almost the same group of sponsors, including my own delegation, as is now presenting draft resolution A/C.1/L.709, entitled "Creation of favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea". The very title of our draft indicates the objectives to be attained and the road to be followed, if we wish to achieve the substantive change in the question of Korea that is indispensable in the light of current relations.

As a matter of fact, 22 years since the conclusion of the Armistice Agreement, the Korean people are still divided artificially. Foreign troops, in fact the forces of the United States, are stationed in the southern part of Korea under the command and flag of the United Nations, a situation which in itself constitutes, today, an anachronism and a legacy of the cold war. It should be recalled that the aforementioned Armistice Agreement had already provided, in its Article 4, that,

"In order to ensure the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, the military Commanders of both sides hereby recommend to the Governments of the countries concerned on both sides that, within three (3) months after the Armistice Agreement is signed and becomes effective, a political conference of a higher level of both sides be held by representatives appointed respectively to settle through negotiation the questions of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea, the peaceful settlement of the Korean question etc." (S/3079 pp. 34 and 35)

This provision has not been implemented, but its objectives have not become less important. On the contrary, in the mean-



time developments in the two parts of Korea have been moving in the opposite direction.

For a long time already, there have been no foreign troops in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, while in south Korea—which opposed the Armistice Agreement and, for that reason, did not sign it—strong United States military forces, armed with the most modern weapons, including nuclear weapon, continue to be stationed. Consequently, it is clear that it is high time to achieve a peaceful settlement of the Korean question, a goal set by the Armistice Agreement itself, and this involves, in the first place, the withdrawal of all foreign military forces.

Three years ago the North-South Joint Communiqué on Korea of 4 July 1972, which was welcomed and supported by our Assembly, laid down three principles of national reunification, namely: independence, peaceful unification and great national unity. Further, the same Joint Communiqué stipulated that reunification should be achieved independently without reliance upon outside force or its interference. If the North and the South were able to reach agreement on these principles of peaceful and independent unification of the country, which undoubtedly reflect the deepest aspirations of the entire Korean people, then it is all the more the duty of the United Nations to help the Korean people to achieve this objective. Actually, one of the basic principles of our Charter is the right of every country to solve its problems independently, in the spirit of the right of peoples to self-determination without outside interference. There is no justification whatsoever, nor has anyone the right—for any motives of a strategic or other nature—to deny the Korean people's right to self-determination and independence, as many other peoples have already achieved this and were rightly supported and encouraged by our Organization.

It is not my intention to deal with the history of the Korean problem which is a long, complex and very instructive one for all of us. However, one thing is obvious, namely that it is high time to effect the necessary changes with respect to the question of Korea. In the conditions of an easing of tensions in international relations—true, still within limited frameworks—and ever greater progress towards the emancipation of many peoples and countries which refuse to submit to foreign subjugation and dependence—and the victory of the peoples of Indo-China underlines the irrepressible character of this process—it is imperative that our Organization should promote this devel-



opment, especially where its responsibility is directly and obviously involved, as in the case of Korea. The time for this is all the more ripe, as trends towards its peaceful unification are becoming stronger in Korea every day.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has been, for many years, insisting on the right of the Korean people to unite and to decide its own fate, independently and without outside interference. In this connexion, I should like to recall its five-point proposal for the national reunification of Korea: to eliminate military confrontation and ease tension between the North and the South; to realize multilateral collaboration and dialogue between the North and the South; to convene a great national congress composed of the representatives of people from all walks of life, political parties and social organizations in the North and the South; to institute a North-South confederation under the single name of "Confederal Republic of Koryo"; and to enter the United Nations as a single State under the name of the Confederal Republic of Koryo.

At the same time, we are all aware that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea does not belong to any military alliance and has no foreign bases on its soil, which, of course, cannot be said for south Korea whose regime is actually relying for its existence on a foreign power and on foreign military forces stationed in its own territory. Therefore, it is natural that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which opted for the principles and policy of non-alignment, that is for independence and its own way of development, for peace and equitable co-operation with all countries, thus contributing to international security, was admitted to the non-aligned movement as a full member at the recent Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Non-Aligned Countries, held in Lima.

At that Conference, just as at earlier gatherings of non-aligned countries, due attention was devoted to the Korean problem. That was done within the context of the constructive efforts of the non-aligned countries to contribute to the search for just and lasting solutions to international conflicts and the elimination of focal points of crisis. Thus, in its paragraphs 60 and 61, the Lima Programme for Mutual Assistance and Solidarity, in addition to support for the principles stipulated in the North-South Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972, reaffirmed the support of non-aligned countries for the policy of independent and peaceful reunification without foreign interference and demanded that:

"...all foreign troops that remain stationed in South Ko-

rea under the United Nations flag be withdrawn and the present Korean Military Armistice Agreement be replaced with a peace agreement, in order to create favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea." (A/10217, para. 60)

The foregoing constitutes the essence of the draft resolution which was introduced on behalf of our group of sponsors by the Ambassador of Algeria in such a convincing and elaborate manner. The dissolution of the so-called United Nations Command; the withdrawal of all foreign military forces from South Korea which are there under the flag of the United Nations; the replacement of the Armistice Agreement by a peace agreement; and the continuation of the dialogue between the North and the South of Korea with a view to achieving an independent and peaceful reunification of the country, these are the basic elements for a genuine solution of the Korean problem. That would be in the interest of the Korean people and of security and peace in that part of the world and, consequently, also in the interest of the United Nations.

During the debate in the Committee we have heard views to the effect that the cessation of the validity of the Armistice Agreement and the withdrawal of foreign military forces before a peace agreement was concluded would create a gap that would aggravate the situation in Korea. Our draft resolution (A/C.1/L.709) provides, in its operative paragraph 3, for a number of concrete measures aimed at maintaining peace and easing tension in Korea and at accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of that country, and it is up to the real parties to the Armistice Agreement to conclude a peace agreement, as our draft resolution urges them.

In conclusion, I should like to stress once again the necessity of taking measures, without further delay, to eliminate the heavy legacy of the cold war in Korea. We can achieve this only if we adopt measures that will mark the end of foreign interference in the affairs of the Korean people, and that can be obtained through the withdrawal of American military forces from Korea and unequivocal support from the United Nations for the right of the Korean people to reunification in peace and security.

The draft resolution of the other group of sponsors does not pursue the same course. Furthermore, by omitting to mention the necessity of concluding a peace agreement and by in-

cluding vague provisions on foreign military forces, which could be interpreted as making it possible for them to continue to be stationed in South Korea—the said draft wholly fails to open prospects for the solution of the Korean problem. Bearing all this in mind, my delegation recommends whole-heartedly to the Committee that it adopt the resolution in document A/C.1/L.709.



## ALARCON

### Cuba

Mr. Chairman, our delegation has already, during the course of the work of this Committee, had the opportunity to congratulate you upon your election and to express the deep satisfaction we feel at seeing you preside over our work, since we are indeed convinced that under your guidance the First Committee is in an exceptionally favourable situation for bringing its work to a successful conclusion.

Having said this, I must confess that the remainder of my statement represents an undertaking that is somewhat difficult for my delegation. For many years we have actively participated in the discussions concerning the problems existing in the Korean peninsula, and I think that we have listened to every type of expression of the effort, on the part of some delegations, to continue the improper interference by our Organization in the problems of that country and to render ever more difficult for the United Nations the adoption of the basic measures that we should adopt forthwith if we are genuinely interested in contributing to a peaceful reunification of the Korean nation.

I believe that all those present are familiar with the history of the debate on the Korean problem in the First Committee, and those of us who have this background in mind will surely agree that what we are faced with today is, more than anything else, an attempt to carry confusion to the extreme with regard to the facts involved in this problem. So true is this that my delegation was in doubt as to whether it should contribute any further words to this debate, except in connexion with the very pleasant duty to pay its tribute to you, Mr. Chairman.

We observed, however, that the list of sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1 in the Spanish version is headed by the Federal Republic of Germany, and this recalled to our minds the thought of the greatest of German

writers, Goethe, who, speaking through the young Werther, said that misunderstandings and laziness can perhaps give rise to more problems in this world than cleverness and perversity. That, more than anything else, is why we want to point out a few things in an attempt at least to prevent the discussion and the voting that will take place in this Committee from being affected by that deliberate effort to sow confusion in our deliberations.

For many years we were compelled in this Committee to debate the fate of the Korean people without allowing for the participation in our work of representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Now everyone recognizes them to be one of the parties involved in this question. It is interesting to observe how those responsible for the exclusion of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea come here — those who are to blame for the discrimination imposed against that country for more than two decades. They now come before us as the defenders of the need that the parties directly involved take part in any solution to the Korean problem. Now, in this Committee, for the first time, we are holding this debate in circumstances in which the parties involved have an opportunity to participate and to set forth their views.

That was not the case for two decades, despite the efforts of those delegations which are sponsoring the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709 — efforts made continuously and insistently, always in the face of the obtuse resistance of those who now come to our Committee with the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1, which ostensibly seeks such democratic participation in the solution of the Korean problem.

Apart from the question of participation in the solution of the Korean problem there is no substantive aspect more important than that relating to the presence of foreign troops in the southern region of that country and the participation or the use of the United Nations by those troops.

The way in which this problem of the foreign troops has been dealt with is also quite peculiar. For many years attempts were made to justify the interference of North American troops stationed in South Korea by disguising them with the attributes and the insignia of our Organization, by dressing them up with the helmets and the symbols of the United Nations and concealing them under the so-called United Nations Command in Korea. The request, repeated year after year, that those foreign troops should be withdrawn and the Korean people should be assisted in freely deciding upon its fate without foreign inter-

ference, was always objected to and opposed by the argument that those troops were in South Korea to implement a mandate from our Organization, that they were not United States troops but United Nations troops and that their presence in that region of the world was a positive factor in the promotion of peace and security in the area.

I do not wish to tire this Committee by reminding it of the number of times that some representatives, the Cuban representative among them, have requested the Secretariat to be so kind as to provide information to our Committee about the membership of the United Nations Command, its functions in South Korea, its terms of reference, its leaders, how many countries were contributing to the contingent and other basic information so that our Organization could seriously discuss the presence of those troops, presumably United Nations troops, in Korea. It will suffice to recall that year after year we received the same reply from the Secretariat: none other than that it had great difficulty in supplying the requested clarification. I very well remember that last year it was clarified that that kind of statement could come only from the Defence Department of the United States.

I also remember that, although here in the Committee the United States delegation never took the trouble to explain to members any of the details that had been requested in connexion with the United Nations Command, it did provide such clarification to the correspondents working here in the United Nations. It was provided by a spokesman for the United States delegation. On that occasion, that gentleman gave the name of the chief of the United Nations Command, which, if I remember correctly, is the same as that of the General who now commands the Eighth Army of the United States in the Far East. He gave a few other details with regard to the composition of the troops, and today, finally, the First Committee has received some specific information by the representative of the Eighth Army, the United Nations Command in Korea, and at the end of 20 years we discover that the United Nations Command is composed of less than 300 persons, which means that the other soldiers, several tens of thousands of them, stationed in South Korea, no longer belong to the United Nations, and we now discover that the United Nations had to maintain them for more than 20 years although they were not United Nations personnel, as some of us delegations ventured to suspect and to denounce in this chamber.

It is curious that this year it is admitted that the number

of persons in the United Nations Command is so limited and at the same time the sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1 seemingly come before this Committee and tell of the willingness of the United States Government to dissolve that Command — namely, to withdraw less than 300 persons from South Korea, as though that really constituted a significant contribution to the cause of promoting peace in Korea. None the less it is strange that in order to demobilize such a substantial number of troops so many requisites are laid down — such as those which the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1 would appear to request, since in its third operative paragraph all parties directly concerned are urged “to embark on talks as soon as possible so that the United Nations Command may be dissolved” — that is, those 300 gentlemen in South Korea — “concurrently with arrangements for maintaining the Armistice Agreement”.

If that is the procedure required to dissolve that more or less small unit of 300 persons, then one would have to imagine what procedure would be needed to return to their countries those tens of thousands of United States soldiers who are now in South Korea, sometimes with and sometimes without the United Nations helmet, sometimes with and sometimes without the United Nations emblem, and all of this as part of a mystery which this Committee was never able properly to clarify. It is also strange that operative paragraph 4 of that very same document expresses the hope that by 1 January 1976 no armed forces under the United Nations flag will remain in the South of Korea. That is, the hope is expressed that by 1 January 1976 there will be in South Korea 300 soldiers fewer than there have been until 1 December 1975.

All of this would prompt us to feel tempted to ask the Secretariat once again if it could be so kind as to offer to us — now when everyone is speaking about withdrawing the Command and the forces — some clarification in order to understand who are the members of the United Nations Command and how many troops are really under its authority. Yet, I will not make that request because I can very well understand the situation our Secretariat finds itself in. Despite its well-known willingness to assist our Committee by providing it with the necessary instruments for its work, in this particular case the situation is in itself a very peculiar one. We are all too well acquainted with it and I should not like — through an investigation by us — to create additional difficulties for our Secretariat nor should I like to contribute to this game of misin-

formation and confusion to which the delegations interested in perpetuating their military occupation in South Korea have accustomed us.

But with all due respect, I should like to raise a point with the sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1\*\*. When last year we asked about the composition of the so-called United Nations troops, as I said a few moments ago, no reply at all was given here. But the spokesman for the United States delegation, speaking with the journalists in this building — from what I have understood — said that the number of United States or foreign officials under the United Nations Command was a limited number, but that there was a considerably higher figure for the troops of the so-called Republic of South Korea which belonged to this Command or were under its authority. I do not recall the figures very well, and since we all know that these change according to the convenience of the debate, but the impression left by the spokesman of the United States delegation was that there was a considerable number of South Korean troops belonging to that Command, and that these in fact constituted the bulk of the so-called United Nations Command.

With all due respect I should like to point out to the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1\*\* that these elements of confusion introduced into the Korean debate by the United States and its supporters might perhaps be affecting the military arrangements or the provisions which the South Korean régime might have in connexion with its own armed forces since the final phrase of that draft seems to be somewhat categorical. If we are to accept the United States explanation of last year, namely, that most of the South Korean troops were under United Nations Command that might perhaps inadvertently be calling for the dissolution of the major part of the South Korean army, within not more than two months since it is hoped that by 1 January 1976:

“...no armed forces under the United Nations flag will remain in the South of Korea.”

But I shall leave this doubt with the sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1\*\*, since perhaps they and they alone might be able to solve this mystery as to which are and which are not United Nations troops in South Korea. For our part we, the countries that have submitted the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709 have a clearer position and the only one which can make a real contribution to creating the conditions necessary so that the people of Korea, north and south of



parallel 38, may be able to proceed peacefully and independently to the reunification of their country.

In our draft we are focusing on two fundamental problems, in order to promote that trend towards the solution of the Korean problems. On the one hand, without having any doubts as to the effects the adoption of our text might have, we call for the withdrawal of all foreign troops in Korea and the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Command. On the other hand, we propose that the parties which participated in the Armistice Agreement in Korea, embark on negotiations so that Armistice Agreement may be replaced with a peace agreement. When we refer to the parties to the Armistice Agreement, we are not excluding or including anyone. The Armistice Agreement is well known. There were some who signed it who were accepted by both parties, and it might be worth while to recall that the United States delegation signed this Agreement without the participation of the Republic of South Korea; at that time it would seem that the United States was able to clearly assume the sovereign representation of that country. It is not the fault of those who did not participate in the Korean war that the question of who signed or failed to sign the Armistice Agreement has become a fact of history which we cannot ignore or alter 20 years later.

We believe that present conditions in the evolution of the world now make it possible for us to adopt those practical decisions which can really bring us closer to a definitive solution to the Korean problem; and can bring us not only closer to a definitive solution to the Korean problem, which is really a matter for the Korean people itself, but closer to the solution of the problem of the United Nations with respect to Korea, which is really the one which should concern us above all else — namely, the need to put an end once and for all to the improper interference by our Organization in the internal affairs of the Korean people; to terminate once and for all the use of our Organization and its symbols by an imperialist Power which has been utilizing them to perpetuate the division of a small country, to occupy a substantial part of its territory and to prevent its people from achieving reunification, independence, and progress. Those are the reasons which should carry the greatest weight in the minds of representatives when it is time for our Organization to take a decision.

In recent months the international community has made substantial progress in understanding the Korean problem and expressing its solidarity with and support for the position of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and its commitment to

the peaceful and independent reunification of the country. This was very clearly and specifically stated at the recent Conference of non-aligned countries held in Lima last August, where the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, as a member with full rights, joined the movement of the non-aligned countries; and there at our Conference, unequivocal and unreserved support was expressed by all non-aligned countries for the constructive position of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea regarding the solution of the so-called Korean problem. My delegation trusts that this Committee will finally be able to adopt the measures essential to ensure that the United Nations will not continue to be an obstacle on the road to the reunification of Korea, so that the United Nations will not continue to be used as an instrument of interference in the internal life of that people, so that the United Nations may finally recapture, also in connexion with Korea, the full effectiveness of its principles, and so that it may act in connexion with this problem in conformity with the purposes of our Charter.



## **VEJVODA**

### **Czechoslovakia**

This year the United Nations General Assembly at its thirtieth session is again facing the grave question of how, for its part, to help to create favourable conditions in which to convert the truce in Korea into a lasting peace, how to contribute to an inde-

pendent and peaceful reunification of that country.

On behalf of the Czechoslovak delegation, I should like first of all to take this opportunity to welcome to our midst the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea headed by the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Comrade Li Jong Mok. It is for the third time that a delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is participating in the discussion of the Korean issue in the forum of the United Nations General Assembly. The active participation of the delegation of Democratic Korea in our meetings and the comprehensive exposition submitted here by the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea represent, and will continue to represent, an earnest and exceptionally significant contribution to the work of this Committee.

The historic victories of the just cause of the peoples of Viet-Nam, Kampuchea and Laos, and the liquidation of one of the most dangerous hotbeds of international tension in Indo-China, have created favourable prerequisites for a further positive development not only in Asia but in the whole world. The process of international détente, which has been gaining substance in recent years, as well as the immediate results that are being achieved through the patient efforts of the countries of the socialist community and of all progressive and peace-loving forces in the consolidation of world peace, are opening up new possibilities also of a just settlement of the Korean issue. May I at the outset express the conviction of my delegation that the United Nations General Assembly at its thirtieth session will make a decisive effort in order to bring to a conclusion the discus-

sion on Korea, which has been on the agenda for our deliberation for a quarter of a century, and to bring about a situation in Korea in which the Korean people can freely, in peace, through their own efforts and without external interference settle the question of their future life. And there can be no doubt that the people of Korea wish to live in a reunified State, and without imperialistic interference.

In the course of past years it was the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that was repeatedly submitting proposals aimed at a peaceful reunification of the north and the south of the country. The significant initiative of President Kim Il Sung of June 1973, calling for a peaceful dialogue between the north and the south on the basis of a five-point programme of independent and peaceful reunification, met with an extraordinarily positive world-wide response. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, together with the other countries of the socialist community, has always unambiguously supported the proposals submitted by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for a peaceful reunification of the country without foreign interference. The most blatant manifestation of such foreign interference was the military intervention in 1950, conducted in the name of the United Nations in gross violation of the basic provisions of its Charter. This occurred at the time when the imperialists unleashed the cold war in an effort to turn the Korean peninsula into a military base and an arsenal for a possible military onslaught on and coercion of the progressive part of the world. The imperialists paid no heed at all to the wishes and the will of the Korean people, which resolutely refused to lend its country to such plans. Since that time a great deal has changed in the world. If foreign troops continue to be stationed in the southern part of the country, moreover some of them in the name of the United Nations, we may rightly call this an anachronism, an unhealthy remnant of the cold war. Therefore, quite logically and correctly, the United Nations has made a fresh approach to the situation in Korea and for the past three years has been considering intensively ways and means of helping the Korean people in the reunification of their country.

As is well known, certain partial progress has been achieved in these deliberations. At the twenty-eighth session, the United Nations General Assembly advanced in the correct direction by deciding to abolish the unlawful so-called Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. At the twenty-eighth and the twenty-ninth sessions of the General Assembly wide sup-

port was voiced for the principles contained in the North-South Joint Communiqué which outlines the implementation of the reunification of Korea, to be undertaken independently, without any interference by external forces, by peaceful means and on the basis of great national unity.

Through its initiatives and proposals, and efforts aimed at their implementation, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has many times convinced world public opinion of its honesty and the unswerving character of its peace-loving policies—which have, however, been constantly frustrated by the unwillingness of the South Korean régime and its endeavour to prevent the people of South Korea from participating in the reunification of the two parts of the country.

In his statement on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the Workers' Party of Korea, on 9 October 1975, President Kim Il Sung declared once again:

**"We are ready to hold negotiations at any time with all political parties including the Democratic Republican Party, social organizations and individual personages in south Korea on the reunification question and to unite and collaborate with them in the cause of national reunification."**

However, the continuing interference in the internal affairs of the Korean people and the presence of foreign troops, armed with the most up-to-date weapons, on the territory of South Korea remain the main obstacles blocking the road to a peaceful reunification of the country. Thus the key to the problem of peaceful and independent reunification of Korea rests primarily on the halting of imperialist interference in Korean internal affairs and the withdrawal of all foreign troops still stationed in South Korea. It is the duty of the United Nations to assist the fulfilment of the aspirations of the Korean people in accordance with their wishes and hopes.

The state of truce in which the country has been living for many years and which has as yet not been crowned by a peace settlement offers no contribution to stabilization and the peaceful solution of the Korean issue. The Armistice Agreement is merely an agreement on a cease-fire, and not an agreement guaranteeing complete peace. Therefore, to the demand for the abolition of the so-called United Nations Command and the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations must also be added the demand to change the armistice in Korea into a lasting peace, that is, to replace the Armistice Agreement by a peace agreement concluded

between the parties involved. The legitimacy of that demand is being stressed not only by the socialist countries; it has been backed also by the recent Conference of Ministers of the Non-Aligned Countries held in Lima, which, moreover, accepted the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as a regular participant.

Permit me to mention in this context another fact which only underscores the endeavour of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to solve this situation. In March 1974 the Democratic People's Republic of Korea took the initiative by a timely step when the Supreme People's Assembly of that country proposed to the United States of America to start direct negotiations between it and the United States with a view to solving the question of concluding a peace agreement between the two countries as parties to the Armistice Agreement. So far, there has been no response to that proposal.

Document A/10191, entitled "Creation of favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea", reflects this significant initiative of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Apart from calling for the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Command and the withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations, it also appeals to the real parties to the Armistice Agreement to replace the Korean Military Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement as a measure to ease tension and maintain and consolidate peace in Korea in the context of the dissolution of the "United Nations Command" and the withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations. Let us recall that the original Armistice Agreement of 1953 itself presupposed that it would be followed up by an agreement on the withdrawal of the troops and a peace settlement.

If, then, the North and the South take practical measures towards the halting of armaments, if they radically reduce their armed forces to equal levels, refrain from armed conflicts and guarantee the non-use of force against each other, then, following the withdrawal of troops from South Korea, tension between the two parts of the country will be relaxed and that will accelerate the process of independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

The statement of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea of 11 August 1975 and the memorandum of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of that Government of 17 August 1975, contained in document A/C.1/1054, as well as the exposi-

tion by the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Li Jong Mok, convincingly testify to the fact that the withdrawal of all foreign troops — which, practically speaking, means American troops — from South Korea is an indispensable prerequisite for the solution of the question of Korea, since their continued presence in the southern part of the country has nothing in common with the task of strengthening peace on the Korean peninsula or in the entire region of Asia. By the way, for a number of years there have been no foreign troops in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea; so that, following the withdrawal of troops from South Korea, both parts of the country will have equal conditions for the study and solution of issues which fall within the exclusive competence of the Korean people.

In 1950 the United Nations was grossly misused in the so-called Korean war, and the matter went so far that intervention by foreign armies in Korean internal affairs was camouflaged by the flag of the United Nations. Up to the present day Korea remains divided into two parts, a division that the Korean people have never agreed to. The time has long been ripe for the United Nations to rectify the mistakes into which it was led by the voting majority, which, at the time of the cold war, covered acts by imperialist Powers directed against the interests of international peace and security.

The people of Korea expect the United Nations to take adequate measures to assist them effectively in their endeavour for a peaceful settlement of their problems without external interference. It is therefore necessary for us to stand resolutely for the removal of the surviving anachronism of the cold war and to adopt concrete measures for the speedy withdrawal of all the foreign troops which are still unlawfully stationed under the flag of the United Nations in the southern part of the Korean peninsula, for the conclusion of a peace treaty and the implementation of the further proposals submitted by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and aimed at the creation of favourable conditions for the removal of tension and the strengthening of peace in that region. What the United Nations must achieve is to prevent the imperialist circles of the United States—which have met with such resolute resistance on the part of the people of Indo-China that they have been forced to withdraw without having achieved their objectives — from succeeding in their attempts to compensate in South Korea for what they have lost in Viet-Nam.

The Czechoslovak people are linked with the Korean people by bonds of profound friendship. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has always with sincere sympathy supported the proposals

of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea aimed at the peaceful reunification of the country without foreign interference and, together with the other socialist countries and other peace-loving countries, has always and under all circumstances, supported the endeavour of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to safeguard durable peace and security in the whole country. That support has been expressed also by Czechoslovakia's sponsorship of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709 which is the subject of our deliberations. Its adoption would represent a constructive contribution by the United Nations to the solution of the question of Korea and to the strengthening and deepening of the process of relaxation of international tension in the world in general.



**SMID**

**Czechoslovakia**

From year to year, the situation of having foreign troops stationed in South Korea, even under the flag of the United Nations, has become ever more untenable. This is an anachronism, a remnant of the times of the worst period of the cold war.

International public opinion has become ever more aware of the ill effects of the presence of a foreign army in the territory of South Korea on the general situation in the Far East, and how this state of affairs, which is a manifestation of imperialist intervention, is an obstacle to the peaceful reunification of the country.

At one time, by various machinations, the flag of the United Nations was used to camouflage three years of cruel aggression against the Korean people. I would remind you at that time when the representative of the USSR had absented himself from the Security Council meeting as a mark of protest at the fact that the People's Republic of China was prevented from exercising the rights of a permanent member of the



Security Council the delegation of the United States used what was its mechanical voting majority at the time, to create a so-called United Nations command and to send what were called United Nations military units to Korea in the absence of two other permanent members of the Security Council. At that time, in the summer of 1950, advantage was taken unilaterally of the fact that two of the permanent members, the USSR and the People's Republic of China, were not participating in the Security Council and the Council was forced to take illegal decisions.

The year 1975 is not the year 1950. Since that time a great deal has changed in the world and in the United Nations itself, and the time has really come now when the United Nations should draw the proper conclusions from the fact that its name has been abused.

The United Nations should do whatever is in its power to call a halt to imperialist intervention in South Korea. Foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag should be withdrawn from that country; this is an essential prerequisite for the peaceful reunification of Korea. A demand to that effect was stressed by a growing number of representatives of countries in all continents in their statements in the Political Committee at the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. An ever-widening circle of countries considers untenable a situation in which the proposal of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to conclude a peace treaty which would replace the existing Armistice Agreement has been rejected.

The adoption in the Political Committee on 29 October 1975 of a resolution on the termination of the armistice in Korea and its transformation into a lasting peace, and on the creation of favourable conditions for accelerating the peaceful reunification of the country, a resolution of which Czechoslovakia was a sponsor, is viewed by my delegation as a very important turning point in the talks on the Korean question within the United Nations.

This resolution reflects the general trend of the day which is towards international détente, at a time when a growing number of countries and peoples are advancing on the road to independence, sovereignty and peaceful co-operation.

The discussion of the Korean question in the Political Committee of the General Assembly confirmed the general change that has occurred in the atmosphere in the United Nations and the desire of a growing number of countries to do away with the remnants of the cold war and to change the

unjust and illegal measures which the voting mechanism then in force compelled the United Nations to take at that time.

I would like to express my conviction that at its thirtieth session the General Assembly will continue on the correct course which it has adopted in the Korean matter, and will adopt, by a majority of votes, the draft resolution which is before us in the report of the Political Committee presented by its Rapporteur and contained in document A/10327, page 19. The draft resolution provides for the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Command and the withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations. The draft resolution calls upon the real parties to the Armistice Agreement to replace the Korean Military Armistice Agreement with a peace treaty as a measure to ease tension and maintain and consolidate peace in Korea in the context of the dissolution of the United Nations Command and the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations.

The draft resolution calls upon North and South Korea to observe the principles of the North-South Joint Communiqué and to take practical measures leading to a reduction of the armaments and armed forces of both sides to an equal level. This would reduce the chance of armed conflict and would guarantee against the use of force against the other side; it would eliminate the danger of military confrontation and would increase the opportunities for peaceful development in Korea which, in turn, would accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

My delegation will vote against the draft resolution on page 17 in subsection A.

In July of this year I had the good fortune to be able to acquaint myself personally with the achievements of the talented Korean people and their fierce determination to bring about the peaceful and independent reunification of their country. I also saw the demilitarized zone, an artificial barrier which for more than 22 years has divided the Korean people, and realized once again that the presence of foreign troops in the territory of South Korea was the root cause of the profound tragedy of that peace-loving, industrious and cultured people.

I believe that in the present discussion of the important questions affecting the future of Korea and peace and security in the Far East, it will be the forces of reason, forces which are actively striving for the intensification of détente in international relations, that will prevail.



## THIOUNN PRASITH

Cambodia

*Speech Made on October 23*

Allow me first of all to extend my warmest greetings to the entire delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea under the leadership of His Excellency, Li Jong Mok, the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, whose speech last Tuesday in this Committee strengthened our conviction of the justice and realism of the policy followed by his Government for the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea.

The Korean problem is a terrible injustice which has been created and is maintained and aggravated to the limit by the constant interventions of the United States of America in the internal affairs of the Korean people. In a vain attempt to extend their neocolonialism to all of Korea, the United States has usurped the United Nations flag in order to invade the young Democratic People's Republic of Korea and to sow death, destruction and ruin in that country.

After the failure of their plan and acting still under the United Nations flag, the United States of America set up in South Korea a tremendous aggressive military base. They installed a neocolonialist régime there, which not only is constantly threatening peace in that part of the world, but is also participating very actively in the imperialist war of aggression which the Americans have launched against the peoples of Cambodia, Viet-Nam and Laos. That neocolonialist, fascist and corrupt régime exists only thanks to the dollar and thanks to the presence of American troops. It is terrorizing the South Korean population. It is flouting all the most elementary rules of democracy. It is making arbitrary arrests, torturing people and committing political assassinations of South Korean patriots.

Despite all this, the patriotic struggle carried on by the South Korean population to democratize South Korean society and to hasten the independent, peaceful reunification of their country, is expanding and developing. The reunification of Ko-

rea is the greatest and most urgent national duty of every Korean man and woman, whether they come from the North or the South. And it is our duty to give our dynamic support to the just struggle of the Korean people to restore independence and national sovereignty and to enable them to become the sole, true master of their countries.

To this end it is our duty to require the full, immediate withdrawal of all American troops from South Korea and the cessation of all foreign intervention in the domestic affairs of the Korean people.

Since their failure to spread neocolonialism throughout the whole of Korea, the United States has tried to apply the so-called two Koreas policy. They have undertaken, and they are still undertaking, all kinds of measures to perpetuate and legitimize the presence of their troops in South Korea and at the same time to legitimize their neocolonialist puppet régime in Seoul.

First, after the usurpation of the United Nations flag and the failure of their aggression against North Korea, in August 1953 they signed the so-called United States/South Korean Mutual Defence Treaty which authorizes them — they say — to have land, naval and air forces stationed throughout the entire territory of South Korea.

Aside from the fact that such an agreement signed between the master and his servant is a mere masquerade, that Treaty is also a flagrant violation of the Armistice Agreement which they signed several weeks earlier, namely on 27 July 1953, with the Commander of the North Korean Army.

Throughout the last 22 years, after having sabotaged the political conference called for by the Armistice Agreement to settle by negotiation the question of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea and arrange a peaceful solution to the Korean question, the United States has constantly built up its troops in South Korea. They have made of South Korea, which is thousands of miles away from the United States, their own first-line defence region and they have openly threatened the Democratic People's Republic of Korea with a nuclear war. To this end they have already introduced in South Korea vast quantities of weapons and modern war matériel, including nuclear weapons and launching pads for nuclear missiles.

The provocations directed against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are increasing. In 22 years there have been more than 172,500 — on the average, 20 a day. In order to deceive world public opinion concerning its war preparations

the United States of America is spreading propaganda about the so-called threat of invasion of the South by the North. The quantitative and qualitative build-up of American forces in South Korea is accompanied by efforts to prevent the conclusion of a peace treaty in Korea and to maintain the Armistice Agreement of 27 July 1953 in order to legalize the stationing in South Korea of American troops, even after the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Command.

The presentation in this Committee of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708, in its revised form or otherwise, reflects these same efforts. The United States claims that even after the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Command their troops will remain in South Korea on the basis of the so-called United States/South Korean Mutual Defence Treaty.

That means that the United States is continuing to violate the principles of the Charter of the United Nations concerning respect for sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. It will continue to flout the principles of international law and to disregard the Joint Communiqué signed on 4 July 1972 between the North and South, which calls in particular for the reunification of the country, independently, without recourse to foreign forces and without any foreign intervention.

Dissolution of the United Nations Command should, *ipso facto*, entail the withdrawal of all United States troops from South Korea, because "all foreign military forces under the United Nations Command" includes all the American forces stationed in South Korea. The stated determination of the United States not to withdraw its troops from South Korea demonstrates its obstinate desire to prevent the reunification of Korea.

Moreover, the United States is making intensive efforts to maintain a fascist and corrupt régime in Seoul — to say the least — and to legitimize that régime in the eyes of the international community. As everyone knows, that régime is merely a neo-colonialist instrument and can continue to survive only with the assistance given to it so generously by the United States. It is the same type of régime as the defunct fascist and anti-national régimes of the traitor Lon Nol and the puppet Nguyen Van Thieu, which have just been swept away by the peoples of Kampuchea and Viet-Nam — and all this despite the various political manoeuvres, despite the thousands of millions of dollars in military, economic and financial assistance, and despite the more than 500,000 American soldiers and more

than 40,000 South Korean soldiers that were stationed there against the will of the people.

With the disappearance of the Lon Nol and Nguyen Van Thieu cliques, the Seoul puppets are ever more afraid and are stepping up their fascist repression of all strata of the population: young people, students, Catholic priests, lawyers, poets, parliamentarians — all those who in any way dare to raise their voices in favour of reunification of their homeland. It is a fascist, anti-national régime, and this is the type of régime that the United States is seeking to impose on the international community, to have admitted to our Organization and to impose as a party directly concerned in the negotiations regarding the transformation of the Armistice Agreement into a peace agreement, despite the fact that it is not a signatory of that Armistice Agreement.

It is quite natural that those senseless efforts should have been soundly rejected by the non-aligned group as well as by the United Nations itself.

The main obstacles to the reunification of Korea and the permanent causes of tension in that part of the world are the refusal of the United States to withdraw its troops from South Korea and its insistence on imposing its puppet Seoul régime on that country. Indeed, the main concern of the United States is not the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea but rather the pursuit of its "two Koreas" policy by maintaining its neo-colonialist régime in South Korea.

The people of Kampuchea for more than five years endured immeasurable misfortunes and sufferings caused by the aggression and interventions of American imperialism against its country. Our people can understand and can feel, in the very depths of its being, in its flesh and blood, the misfortunes and suffering of the Korean people. Our solidarity with the just struggle of the Korean people is total. We feel that our Organization is in duty bound to require that all foreign troops be withdrawn completely and immediately from South Korea, so that the South Korean people can regain its freedom and the control over its own destiny, as well as the right to maintain brotherly relations with North Korea, freely exploring with it ways and means for the two parts of Korea to achieve the necessary national reunification — a peaceful reunification, without any foreign participation in the process.

That is why, together with 41 other countries, Kampuchea is a sponsor of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709 entitled "Creation of favourable conditions for converting the

armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea”.

The main consistent and realistic conditions for this reunification are as follows:

First, dissolution of the “United Nations Command” and withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea — in other words, all land, naval and air forces of the United States stationed, for any reason whatsoever, in South Korea;

Secondly, replacement of the Armistice Agreement, which is merely a cease-fire agreement, by a peace agreement to be signed by the two genuine parties: the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea and the United States;

Thirdly, without any foreign interference and without the presence of any foreign troops, the North and the South will promote friendly relations based on mutual confidence and understanding, and will eliminate the state of military opposition between them, in accordance with the Joint Communiqué they signed on 4 July 1972, which our General Assembly noted with satisfaction at its plenary meeting on 28 November 1973.

To ensure the success of this dialogue, which should concern only the Korean people — North and South — the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea has on several occasions submitted a five-point proposal:

First, total withdrawal of the United States armed forces from South Korea;

Secondly, cessation of the arms race between North and South;

Thirdly, reduction of the armed forces of both North and South to a maximum of 100,000 men, as well as a reduction in armaments;

Fourthly, termination of the importation of foreign weapons and military matériel and supplies;

Fifthly, the guarantee that each side shall refrain from the use of armed force against the other.

It is undeniable that the implementation of these measures would rapidly improve the relations between the North and South and would open the way to the independent and peaceful reunification of the country. President Kim Il Sung reiterated on 9 October the reunification struggle is a struggle not between communists and nationalists but between patriots and traitors, between the forces of national independence and the forces of imperialist aggression. In this struggle the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea has no intention of rejecting the South Korean nationalists or of impos-

ing its own social and ideological system on South Korea. On the contrary, it is ready to negotiate with all political parties, including the Democratic Republican Party, and with the democratic organizations and political figures in South Korea; it is ready to co-operate and to join with them in the cause of national reunification. To this end, it will set up a broad united national front and a North-South confederation under the title of the Confederal Republic of Koryo, which would hasten the independent and peaceful reunification of the country. At that stage the United Nations could envisage the admission of united Korea as a Member State.

Our delegation categorically rejects the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708, revised or unrevised, because in fact it merely perpetuates the division of Korea and legalizes the stationing for an indefinite period of American troops in South Korea; it approves the neo-colonialism of the United States of America in South Korea, which is tantamount to rewarding aggression and foreign interference in the domestic affairs of that country.

On the other hand, the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709 is a realistic, consistent plan aimed at the early reunification of Korea. The reasonable proposals and the formal assurances given by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, through its President Kim Il Sung himself, give further proof of the sincerity of these proposals. Our Committee should give serious consideration to them as a priority matter, for indeed the prerequisite for beginning the process of reunification of the country is full and unconditional withdrawal of all American troops from South Korea, as well as the cessation of all outside interference in the affairs of the Korean people.

Cambodia, through its own bitter experience, is deeply convinced that peace, independence and national unity cannot be obtained as long as there still is outside interference which supports a handful of traitors. It was only after five years of a bitter and costly war of national liberation and after tremendous sacrifices that, with the help of all peace and justice-loving countries, we were able to force American imperialism to halt its aggression and its interference. Finally, our people liberated their country on 17 April 1975, and restored peace, independence and national unity throughout the country.

The same is true of Viet-Nam, where the total liberation of South Viet-Nam from imperialist American occupation opened the way for the independent, peaceful reunification between north and south.



The same is true of Laos, where the victory of the patriotic Laotian forces against American imperialism made possible the restoration of independence and national unity.

In Korea, as long as the American troops remain in South Korea — whether they be under the United Nations Command or otherwise — there can be no national reunification. On the contrary, the tension will not merely continue but will be irrevocably aggravated. Must we wait until the Korean situation reaches the stage of the situation six months ago in Cambodia, Viet-Nam or Laos before the true independence and peaceful reunification of the country can begin?

The Korean people is the sole master of its country; it cannot allow the United States of America or others to divide its country and flout its national sovereignty. Like all other peoples, it should have the right to settle its own affairs without any outside interference.

In Lima the non-aligned countries, by admitting the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to their group, paid a tribute to its policies of peace, independence and non-alignment. At the same time they demonstrated their firm support for the struggle of the Korean people to achieve the complete withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea and for the independent peaceful reunification of Korea.

By adopting the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709, our Organization — and primarily this Committee — will have contributed to the great cause of reunifying Korea and putting an end to the misfortune and suffering of the Korean people which has lasted only too long. This Committee would thus have reacted positively to the deep aspirations of the Korean people and of all peace and justice-loving peoples throughout the world. Furthermore, by the dissolution of the United Nations Command and by the total withdrawal of American troops from South Korea, the Committee would thus put an end to 25 years of usurpation of the United Nations flag by the United States in order to cover up the latter's aggression and interference in the internal affairs of the Korean people. Once again the General Assembly will have the all too rare opportunity of playing a useful role which would contribute to the elimination of tension in that area of the world and to the strengthening of world peace, thus acting in accordance with the principles of the Charter, respect for sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of a State. Will the Assembly take this opportunity to act usefully by encouraging the

general movement of peoples to achieve independence, sovereignty and national unity?

As for the Korean people, whose just struggle is part of the irrevocable course of history it will, thanks to its own sacrifice, determination and perseverance, put an end sooner or later to the aggression and interference of the United States in its domestic affairs, and it will certainly reunify its homeland under conditions of independence and peace.

### *Speech Made on November 18*

The General Assembly has just by an overwhelming majority adopted draft resolution B sponsored by 43 countries, among them my own country Cambodia. The General Assembly has rejected all sophism, and all lying and slanderous propaganda against the people of Korea. It has unmasked all dilatory tactics and has spoken out clearly in favour of the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Command and of the complete withdrawal of American troops from South Korea. With this vote it has expressed its determination to open the way for a dynamic process of independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, in keeping with the deeply-felt and reasonable aspirations of the people of Korea. By the same token, it has expressed its will to put an end to 25 years of usurpation of the United Nations flag to mask the aggression and foreign intervention by the United States in the internal affairs of the Korean people.

The adoption of resolution B by the General Assembly is, above all, a victory for the Korean people and reflects clearly the demands of all the peoples of the world engaged in the irreversible movement for independence and national sovereignty. In conformity with the principles of the Charter concerning respect for sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, it has shown our Organization the course to follow to contribute effectively to the elimination of tension in that part of the world and, at the same time, to achieve the consolidation of world peace.

The recent painful experience of the Kampuchean people shows that no national independence is possible, no national sovereignty can be envisaged, no national unity can be achieved and, therefore, no lasting peace can be built so long as aggression and intervention in the internal affairs of a State by

foreign forces continue—in this case, the intervention of American imperialism.

It is with this conviction that the delegation of Kampuchea was both happy and honoured to express once again its full solidarity with the just struggle of the Korean people and of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and to reaffirm the position that it has always held and that is well known to all.

The General Assembly has just made a contribution to the struggle, sacrifice, determination and perseverance of the people of Korea for the peaceful, independent reunification of their fatherland, and to the cessation of the sufferings and evils that have beset the people, which have lasted too long. It has thus participated in the elimination of one of the greatest injustices of our time, and that gesture does it great honour.



## GROZEV

### Bulgaria

#### *Speech Made on October 24*

The positive changes in the world which are the results of the continuing easing of tension in international affairs have been reflected in the Asian continent, as elsewhere. The victories of the peoples of Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia, won after many years of heroic armed struggle imposed upon them by foreign intervention, will undoubtedly have a favourable effect on relations among the States in the region and be a substantial contribution to the establishment of lasting peace in the area. Unfortunately, however, the situation in the Korean peninsula remains tense. The so-called Korean question has taken up too much of the attention of the international community. It has been discussed in the United Nations for more than 25 years. When we discuss that problem we should always, in our view, bear in mind that in essence it is a question of unifying a people, and it is the internal affair of the Korean people. Accordingly, there can be only one task for our Organization, to contribute to the unification of the Korean people. Member States of the United Nations cannot remain indifferent to the lawful aspirations of the Korean people for the peaceful and independent unification of the country. The United Nations, which bears considerable responsibility for the situation in the Korean peninsula, should do everything in its power to bring to an end the further use of the Organization, its name and its authority, as camouflage for intervention in the internal affairs of the peace-loving Korean people. That people has suffered a great deal in order to win the right to determine its own fate.

All who cherish peace and justice should contribute to just such a solution to the Korean problem, and we have therefore noted with great satisfaction the view on the Korean question expressed by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the non-aligned countries at their Lima Conference:

"The Korean problem continues to exist due to the maintenance of the artificial division of the country, a situation which threatens peace and security in Asia and in the world. The Conference ... reaffirms its support of the policy for the independent and peaceful reunification without any foreign interference in its internal affairs advocated by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and demands that all foreign troops that remain stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag be withdrawn and the present Korean Military Armistice Agreement be replaced with a peace agreement, in order to create favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea." (A/10217, para. 60)

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has for many years been making tireless efforts to create the necessary conditions for the peace unification of the country; therefore it is no accident that the policy of that Government has won such wide international recognition, as was demonstrated by the decisions of the Lima Conference.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is not satisfied with the mere expression of wishes and declarations. It has undertaken a number of specific initiatives. It has begun a dialogue with South Korea. It has made a proposal for the convening of a grand national assembly with the participation of representatives of all strata of the population, all political parties and all public organizations of the North and the South. North Korea initiated the resumption of talks under the auspices of the Red Cross in a spirit of mutual accommodation, which was one further positive step towards unification. Once again the Government of that country has come forward with a proposal to conclude a peace agreement between the North and the South. All this is in keeping with the spirit of the North-South Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972, which stressed that unification should be achieved through independent Korean efforts, without external imposition or interference. Both sides have agreed, in that Joint Communiqué, that national unity should be achieved through peaceful means and without the use of armed force.

If that is the case — and this has been agreed by both sides — the legitimate question arises, why is the presence of foreign troops necessary in the southern part of the country? Obviously, the presence of those troops can serve other, politi-

cal, economic and military strategic interests but it cannot possibly have anything to do with the national interests of the whole Korean people as properly understood. It is precisely those interests which require that misunderstandings be removed and that an atmosphere of mutual trust and unity be created so as to restore the dialogue between the North and the South and eliminate the obstacles to the peaceful unification of the country without military confrontation and without foreign intervention — and that ever more necessary the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea.

It is to those ends that efforts have been directed this year by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which is patiently and persistently pursuing a course aimed at the peaceful unification of the country by democratic means, by the efforts of the Korean people themselves on the basis of their sovereign rights.

An important political initiative towards the normalization of the situation in the Korean peninsula is the official proposal for the conclusion of a peace agreement between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States of America, made on 25 March 1974 by the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. It proposes that both parties that sign the peace agreement should assume an undertaking not to attack each other and, to eliminate the danger of a direct military conflict, to take measures to end the arms race and to withdraw foreign troops from South Korea, and to undertake that, after the withdrawal of foreign troops that country will not be made into a military or operational base of any foreign State whatever.

We must warmly welcome the leader of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Comrade Li Jong Mok, the Deputy Foreign Minister, and thank him for his frank and honest statement to our Committee about the realistic programme and the most important proposals of that country with regard to the question of the peaceful unification of the country.

Those proposals testify once again to the fact that that State is faithful to the principle of the peaceful unification of the country contained in the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972. We cannot fail to point out — and the facts show this unambiguously — that the efforts towards the peaceful reunification of the country remain one-sided; they are being made only by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Quite unlike the policy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in its sin-

cere desire to put an end as soon as possible to the division of Korea is the policy pursued by the South Korean rulers, who stubbornly refuse to respond to the constructive proposals of the North Koreans, to the aspirations and wishes of the entire Korean people. Surely that shows that this conduct is designed to cover up the failure of the South Korean rulers to implement the principles and purposes of the Joint Communiqué and to reduce to nothing the results already achieved. How can we view the request of South Korea for admission to the United Nations as anything but a new attempt to undermine the 1972 consensus and the Joint Communiqué of the two countries, as anything but an attempt to perpetuate the division of an age-old tradition and culture, of a single Korean nation? How can one view it otherwise than as a proposal to preserve both Koreas to the detriment of the Korean people and in the interest of foreign Powers?

Therefore, all the so-called arguments of the South Korean side, which we heard repeated a few days ago — arguments that the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are unrealistic and have hidden intentions — are in fact designed to place the blame where it does not belong, to mislead world public opinion and to divert the attention of the United Nations from the real causes of the failure to find a lasting and speedy solution to the Korean problem.

The policy of the South Korean rulers is obviously difficult to explain as anything but a policy designed to satisfy other interests. Otherwise how can we explain the desire to maintain and legitimize the presence of United States troops in the territory of South Korea, troops that are there under the cover of the United Nations flag? These troops and their command have been illegally called United Nations troops and the United Nations Command. That is well known to everyone.

It is high time that the General Assembly take a clear and categorical stand on this fundamental problem, if it really wants to facilitate the reunification of Korea on a peaceful and democratic basis. In specific terms this means taking a categorical attitude with regard to the need for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory of South Korea and the cessation of foreign intervention in the internal affairs of the Korean people. That people rightly expects from the United Nations comprehensive support and assistance in ensuring favourable conditions for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country. The duty of the United Nations is to justify those hopes. The task that our Organization should treat

as a matter of high priority is to meet the aspirations and hopes of the peace-loving Korean people, its sincere desire to see the country free and united. We the Members of the United Nations must do everything in our power to see to it that our Organization can in fact effectively promote the cessation of foreign intervention in the internal affairs of Korea, despite the ways in which attempts are made to cover up that foreign intervention.

I should therefore like to stress once again that it is necessary above all that foreign troops be withdrawn from the territory of South Korea. That is a matter of the highest priority. Those troops must be withdrawn in order that both sides may be placed on the same footing when the time comes to solve the questions that are absolutely fundamental to the future of the Korean people.

On the territory of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea there have long since ceased to exist any foreign troops, and nothing could possibly justify the presence of foreign troops in South Korea. The withdrawal of those troops would be a genuine step towards the strengthening of peace in the Far East.

A central contribution to that objective would be the conclusion of a peace treaty. Assertions that the presence of foreign troops in South Korea is necessary to guarantee — that is the word used — the preservation of the Armistice Agreement have no foundation whatever. The presence of such troops can only guarantee the continuation of a state of instability and tension in that part of the world. It is a fact that it is precisely the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that proposes — and this was confirmed once again in the statement here of its representative — the undertaking of specific measures to ensure not only that the Armistice Agreement is observed but that it is converted into a lasting peace treaty. Replacing the Armistice Agreement by a peace treaty would be a major contribution to the easing of tension and would guarantee lasting peace in the Korean peninsula.

Therefore, the United Nations must decide to encourage such developments, and more precisely to create conditions more favourable to the conversion of the armistice in Korea into a lasting peace, which, in turn, would accelerate the independence and peaceful reunification of Korea. Such a decision would be entirely in keeping with the purposes of the Armistice Agreement itself. Paragraph 60, contained in article IV of the Agreement, states:



"In order to ensure the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, the military Commanders of both sides hereby recommend to the Governments of the countries concerned on both sides that within three months after the Armistice Agreement is signed and becomes effective, a political conference of a higher level of both sides be held by representatives appointed respectively to settle through negotiation the questions of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea, the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, etc." (S/3079, appendix A)

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea rightly believes that questions that may arise after the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea could be discussed and solved in talks between the authorities of the North and those of the South. That is actually the purpose of the five-point proposal of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea — namely, that military confrontation between the two countries should be avoided, that an obligation should be undertaken not to use force, that a joint mixed military commission of the North and the South should be established to replace the Armistice Commission, that the armed forces of both sides should be reduced, and so on. Thus, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea sets forth proposals the implementation of which would, with genuine guarantees, ensure the preservation of peace by the Korean people themselves without foreign intervention.

This year the Committee's attention has once again been focussed on two draft resolutions on the Korean question. In essence those two draft resolutions reflect two points of view and approaches to the solution of the problem. Guided by its unswerving and consistent policy on these important problems, the People's Republic of Bulgaria co-sponsored the proposal for the inclusion in the agenda of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly of the item entitled "Creation of favourable conditions for converting the Armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea", and also the draft resolution submitted by Algeria and 41 other States.

We are firmly convinced that the adoption of this draft resolution would be a major contribution to a just solution of the problem precisely because it contains all the elements necessary to bring about the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea on a democratic basis.

In the summer of this year a party and governmental de-

legation from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea made a friendly visit to our country. In the joint communiqué published on that occasion it is stated that:

"The Bulgarian side once again confirms its support for the programme for the unification of Korea on the basis of non-intervention by foreign forces and by democratic and peaceful means. The Bulgarian delegation categorically condemns attempts by the imperialists and the puppet clique of Pak Jung Hi to perpetuate the division of the country by means of creating two Koreas, and insists on the immediate withdrawal from the territory of South Korea of all foreign troops under the cover of the United Nations flag."

The 42-Power draft resolution is entirely in keeping with the views contained in the text I have just quoted. The adoption of that draft resolution by the Committee would undoubtedly be further confirmation of the principles of the United Nations Charter. It would be in keeping with the interests and aspirations of the whole Korean people and the interests of peace and security in the Far East and throughout the world.

Obviously the world Organization can no longer accommodate itself to the use of the United Nations flag in its name for purposes which are contradictory to the interests of the Korean people and the purposes enshrined in the United Nations Charter. New, favourable developments in international relations call for a new approach to a solution of the Korean problem. The facts of life require us to renounce the approach which was imposed by imperialist forces and which led to so much suffering for the Korean people and did so much damage to the authority of our Organization.

It is precisely for these reasons that it is indispensable for the General Assembly of the United Nations clearly and categorically to decide on the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territory of South Korea, and the sooner that decision is taken and the troops are actually evacuated, the sooner we can carry out peaceful and independent unification of Korea.

The adoption of such a decision would be an act of political wisdom because it would be entirely in keeping with the spirit of the times and the universal aspirations of all peoples to détente in the international atmosphere, which, as a result of these positive favourable changes, could be extended to all parts of the world. Such a decision would be worthy of the current thirtieth anniversary session of the United Nations and would demonstrate that there are far-reaching and profound

changes going on in the world and strengthen the confidence of peoples in the ability of the Organization to make a major contribution to the solution of topical and urgent international problems.

*Speech Made on November 18*

The Korean question has been discussed in the United Nations for more than 25 years now. After such a long period of discussion and debate, we have finally adopted draft resolution B, which is fully in keeping with the legitimate aspirations of the Korean people for the peaceful and independent reunification of the country without foreign interference. This will help the creation of the appropriate conditions for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory of South Korea and the conclusion of a peace treaty. That document provides for measures and steps which would lead — I should like to stress this — not merely to a further reduction of the present abnormal situation prevailing in the Korean peninsula, but to a genuine implementation of all measures to create the necessary conditions for the unification of the country.

The adoption of that resolution by the General Assembly, without any doubt, is further confirmation of the principles of the United Nations Charter and is in keeping with the interests and aspirations of the whole Korean people, and the interests of peace and security in the Far East and throughout the world. Obviously, the world Organization no longer wishes to connive at the shameful use of the flag of the United Nations in the service of interests and purposes which contradict the interests of the Korean people and the purposes of the United Nations Charter.

It is precisely for this reason that the General Assembly of the United Nations clearly and unambiguously expressed its wish for the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territory of South Korea. The sooner those foreign troops are actually withdrawn, the sooner will it be possible to carry out the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea. The adoption of that decision is an act of political wisdom because it is entirely in keeping with the spirit of the times, with the general aspiration of all peoples to international détente, and their desire that as a result of these positive changes it may be possible to extend the benefits of détente throughout all parts of the world.

Such a decision is worthy of this thirtieth anniversary ses-

sion of the United Nations and thus demonstrates that it is in keeping with the positive trends in the world. It will strengthen trust among nations and is capable of making a contribution to the resolution of contemporary international problems.

It is precisely for those reasons that the Bulgarian delegation, and many other delegations, voted in favour of resolution B as being most in keeping with the requirements of a just settlement of the Korean problem.



## **SHEVEL**

**Ukrainian Soviet  
Socialist Republic**

*Speech Made on October 24*

First, I should like on behalf of our delegation and on my own behalf personally once again to congratulate you, Mr. Chairman, upon your election to the important post of Chairman of the First Committee and wish you every success in this important work.

A few days ago a discussion began in the First Committee on the question of Korea. Many delegations have already explained their views on the question under discussion. A great impression was made by the statement of the head of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of that country, Comrade Li Jong Mok, who most eloquently set forth the position of his Government on the questions of the strengthening of peace and security in the Korean peninsula and the peaceful unification of Korea.

I should like, on behalf of the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR, to welcome the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the thirtieth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations and to congratulate it upon the outstanding statement that it made, which we are firmly convinced expresses the will of the whole Korean people. We welcome the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea with particular satisfaction because for many years the delegations of the Soviet Union, the Byelorussian SSR, the Ukrainian SSR and all other socialist and many non-aligned countries have spoken out in favour of inviting the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to take part in the discussion of the Korean question in the United Nations. In the circumstances of the cold war and the exacerbation of international tension which prevailed at that time, the majority managed by means of the voting machine to deprive the representatives

of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea of the opportunity of taking part in the discussion of questions directly relating to the future of their country.

It was necessary to have a fundamental breakthrough in the international situation in the direction of the easing of tension for the tendency towards holding business-like discussions of controversial issues with a view to finding solutions on the basis of respect for the rights of peoples to overcome the obstacles that had been created in the years of the cold war. The trend towards détente is becoming ever more dominant in international relations between countries belonging to different social and economic systems. This is a fact that was mentioned by many speakers at this session of the General Assembly. Recently in the First Committee a resolution dealing with the question of the strengthening of international security was adopted by an overwhelming majority of votes. That resolution, among other things, contained an appeal to all States:

“...to extend the process of détente to all regions of the world, with the equal participation of all States in order to bring about just and lasting solutions to international problems, so that peace and security will be based on effective respect for the sovereignty and independence of all States, and the inalienable rights of each people to determine its own destiny freely and without outside interference, coercion or pressure;”  
(A/C.1/L.718/Rev.1)

In the light of that, the elimination of tension in the Korean peninsula and the cessation of confrontation in that area and the creation of the most favourable possible circumstances for the peaceful and democratic unification of the country have become particularly urgent and timely. This first and foremost presupposes the total elimination of outside interference in the internal affairs of the Korean people. A source of constant military and political tension in the Korean peninsula is the foreign troops stationed there, which have illegally appropriated the United Nations flag and are used to carry out plans which have nothing whatsoever in common either with the task of maintaining peace in that region or with the interests of the Korean people. In practice they are playing the role of a fundamental bulwark for supporting the anti-popular reactionary régime which exists in South Korea. The Seoul puppet régime, relying on the presence of foreign bayonets, is pursuing in the south of Korea a policy of force and the suppression of democratic rights and freedoms of the South Korean population and

of their patriotic aspirations towards the reunification of the country. The world press is full of reports of the ceaseless political trials and acts of repression in South Korea, arrests and violence against youth, particularly students who are moved by patriotic sentiments.

The régime of Park Chung Hee, intimidated and frightened as it is by the collapse of the Lon Nol clique in Cambodia and of the Thieu clique in South Viet-Nam, continues to rant about some kind of mythical threat of invasion of the South, and is constantly raising the outcry of anti-communism so as to hold on to power.

In South Korea we have witnessed a intensification of military preparations, a continuation of the militarization of the economy and modernization of the 600,000-man army. In July of this year the Seoul régime adopted a bill to increase the military budget of South Korea by \$400 million. Military appropriations now exceed the amount of \$1,300 million, which constitutes more than a third of the whole South Korean budget.

Modern arms continue to be imported into South Korea. Indeed, just a few days ago, on 22 October, the American press reported that the Pentagon is planning to sell South Korea another 18 military jet aircraft, the F-4 E, in addition to the 18 F-4 D fighters and 60 F-5 fighters. These concrete figures and facts are totally contradictory to the assertions of one of the speakers here to the effect that South Korea is developing only a peace economy. And these are just a few important elements of the background, if I may so put it, against which the discussion of the Korean item in the United Nations is now taking place.

The draft resolution submitted by 42 sponsors, including the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR, highlights the key-problem: the ensuring of a lasting peace in Korea. It is also based on the need to accelerate the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea. As the draft resolution quite rightly points out, it is impossible to expect lasting peace as long as the armistice continues to exist in Korea in its present form. The sponsors of the draft therefore call upon the actual parties to the Armistice Agreement — the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States — to replace the Korean Military Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement as a measure to ease tension and maintain and consolidate peace in Korea, in the context of the dissolution of the "United Nations Command" and withdrawal of the so-called United Nations troops — that is, all foreign troops; they call for the cessation of foreign inter-

vention in the internal affairs of the Korean people, the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea, and also the conclusion of a peace agreement, which is the indispensable condition for a just solution to the Korean problem in circumstances where the cold war is just a thing of the past.

Now, what is actually proposed in the draft resolution of the group of developed capitalist States and some of their supporters from among the developing countries? They propose to keep the Armistice Agreement, and they oppose the conclusion of a peace agreement. They propose not only to keep foreign troops in South Korea but, in essence, to legitimize their presence there under the cover, as it were, of some new fig leaf. But this amounts, after all, to preservation of the tense, explosive situation in the Korean peninsula, and no delegation can possibly agree to that if it is interested in strengthening international peace and security.

My delegation, therefore, will vote against that draft resolution, since it does not provide for the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea.

Turning to the internal aspects of the Korean problem, the sponsors of the draft resolution of the socialist and non-aligned countries call upon the North and the South of Korea to observe the principles of their Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972, which stressed that the reunification of the country should be carried out by peaceful means through the efforts of the Korean people themselves, without foreign interference. The five-point programme of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea — that is, termination of the state of military confrontation; an easing of the tension between North and South; the establishment of comprehensive co-operation and mutual exchanges between the North and the South; the convening of a national congress or consultative conference with the participation of representatives of political parties, public organizations and representatives of all strata of the population of the North and South; and the creation of a confederation — is a realistic proposal for the reunification of the country.

The draft resolution (A/C.1/L.709) also appeals to the parties to take measures for ceasing arms reinforcement and reducing their armed forces drastically, and other measures.

Those who favour the maintenance of foreign troops in South Korea assert, among other things, that those troops are necessary "to guarantee implementation of the Armistice Agreement in Korea". That is an artificial claim taken from the cold war arsenal by those who would like to see in the Ko-



rean peninsula maintenance of the situation of a temporary armistice, and not peace.

We should never forget that the North Koreans are proposing a number of concrete measures designed to preserve peace in the Korean peninsula. These include a reduction of the strength of the armed forces of North and South to 100,000 men or less on each side; a cessation of the arms race and of the import of arms; the establishment of mutual guarantees against the use of force by either side, and so on. It is understandable that all the guarantees proposed by the North Koreans must be established by the Koreans themselves, without foreign interference. One of the most convincing pieces of evidence of the sincerity of the desire of the North Koreans to create more favourable circumstances for the acceleration of the independent and peaceful reunification of the country was the official proposal put forward in March of last year by the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the conclusion of a peace agreement between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States, which, *inter alia*, would entail an obligation for the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea and the renunciation of the idea of converting Korea into a military base for any foreign State. The conclusion of the agreement proposed by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea would remove the major obstacle to the reunification of Korea and would facilitate the strengthening of peace in that part of the world.

The Ukrainian people — and all the peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics — have feelings of fraternal solidarity and friendship with the Korean people who, in the northern part of the country, are building socialism and demonstrating a sincere desire for the peaceful and democratic reunification of Korea. These feelings of solidarity and friendship were recently expressed by the workers of the Ukrainian SSR at rallies and meetings which took place in our Republic on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the liberation of the Korean people as a result of the historic victory over the forces of fascism and militarism in the Second World War.

Throughout these 30 years our people has been giving whole-hearted support to the peaceful foreign policy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

In conclusion, the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic would like once again to stress that at present in Asia very important positive processes are occurring. The collapse of the anti-popular puppet régimes in Saigon and

Phnom Penh as a result of the historic victory of the peoples of Viet-Nam and Cambodia and the bankruptcy of the local reactionaries with their connexions with imperialist circles in Laos were important factors in the improvement of the international climate in the Asian continent. In that part of the world we hear voices ever more loudly raised in demands for an end to the dangerous imperialist presence. The changes in Asia, by all accounts, are not to the liking of certain imperialistic circles which view those changes as a threat to their positions. The elimination of a foreign presence in South Korea would be a victory for the cause of peace and democracy and would bring closer the creation of a system of collective security in Asia, with the participation of all the countries of that continent.

*Speech Made on October 29*

Our delegation would like to explain some of its views on the amendment in document A/C.1/L.720 to the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709. Our delegation, as one of the sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709, cannot agree with the amendment to this draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.720, and will vote against it.

The amendment of the representative of Saudi Arabia so changes and contradicts the substance of the draft resolution of the 43 sponsors that our delegation considers this amendment to be rather a part of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708 submitted by the Western countries and a number of their supporters from among the developing countries.

Indeed, Mr. Baroody's attempts to reduce to a mere formality the difference between the concept of the parties to the Armistice Agreement and that of the real parties to that Agreement. In the draft resolution of the 43 sponsors, it is clearly indicated that it is precisely the real parties to the Armistice Agreement which should replace it by a peace agreement; and those real parties are — as everyone is very well aware — the United States of America and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

By means of the Saudi Arabian amendment, a disguised but entirely comprehensible attempt is really being made to involve in the talks on a peace agreement between the United States and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea the puppet Seoul régime which, from the very beginning, has been against the armistice and has repeatedly violated the Armistice

Agreement, and is suppressing the aspirations of the South Korean population for an independent peaceful and democratic reunification of the country.

Such a change in the substance of the resolution of the 43 sponsors is entirely unacceptable. Now, we may ask why we need this amendment if, in fact, it corresponds to a similar provision of the resolution of the Western countries. Incidentally, Mr. Baroody has already voted for that resolution.

Furthermore, in our draft resolution it is stressed that the replacement of the Armistice Agreement by a peace agreement should be carried out in circumstances where the United Nations Command is dissolved and all foreign troops stationed in South Korea withdrawn from that country.

This is a necessary concretization of the general provision referred to in paragraph 1 of the operative part of our draft resolution. This condition is not referred to at all in the amendment presented to us; and in fact, the amendment actually contradicts what is said in this paragraph. In other words, the amendment leaves a loophole for a continuation of the stationing of foreign troops in the South of Korea — that is, the continuation of foreign intervention in the internal affairs of the Korean people.

Another provision of Mr. Baroody's amendment does not change anything either. Nor do today's subamendments to the amendment change anything. It is proposed that we should impose on the Korean people various forms of unification. But that is not the business of the General Assembly; it is not the business of the United Nations, for the United Nations cannot intervene in the internal affairs of States. What form that peaceful unification of the country will take is the business of the Korean people themselves. Accordingly, the amendment would violate the spirit of the Joint Communiqué of North and South Korea of 4 July 1972, and the decision of the General Assembly of 20 November 1973 which welcomed that Communiqué, because it stressed the principle of independent decision on the part of the Korean people regarding the question of their unification. Cloudy, nebulous references to the common will of the whole Korean people, such as those contained in the amendment, are therefore pointless.

I come now to my last point. The amendment of Mr. Baroody also talks of some still rather obscure conditions which it appears should be created in Korea in order to ensure a peaceful transition there. Our position on this matter is very clear. Only a peace agreement — that is, a peace treaty concluded in

circumstances of a cessation of foreign intervention and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the south of Korea — will make it possible to solve this problem. Anything else would only serve to perpetuate the explosive situation in the Korean peninsula. We call upon the members of the Committee to reject the amendment proposed to the resolution in document A/C.1/L.709 and to vote in favour of the draft resolution presented by 43 countries.



## NDABANIWE

### Burundi

Mr. Chairman, since this is the first time that my delegation has spoken since you became Chairman of our Committee I should like to congratulate you most warmly on your well-deserved election and express our sincere wishes for complete success in the exercise of your important functions.

The delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is participating for the third time in the work of our Committee devoted to the question of Korea. My delegation wishes to welcome the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to our midst and to express its gratitude to the head of the delegation, His Excellency Li Jong Mok, the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of that Republic, for the clear, complete and objective statement he made on the situation prevailing in the Korean peninsula and on the measures necessary to bring about peace, concord and unity in that part of the world. We unreservedly support, as we always have, the point of view expressed by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea because it is a reflection of the aspirations of the entire Korean people and of the wishes of the countries and peoples which cherish peace, dignity and freedom.

The Korean people, the entire Korean people, aspires to peace, national independence and the reunification of its country. Whether in the north or in the south, all Koreans categorically reject and vigorously fight against the division imposed on them 30 years ago within the framework — or rather as the first manifestation — of the cold war, a division which can only benefit the policies of force, domination and hegemony of a great Power situated thousands of miles from Korea. Whether in the north or in the south, Koreans refuse to accept that the southern half of their country be transformed into a neo-colony, the private preserve of anyone, a vast military base which international imperialism uses to attack and invade North Korea and other countries of Asia, as in the unjust and barbarous

wars imposed on the Indo-Chinese peoples. Whether in the north or in the south, Koreans aspire to the reunification of their country after the disappearance of the Military Demarcation Line, so that Korean brothers and sisters may meet again and walk hand in hand towards the same horizon, as they have done for thousands of years.

The United Nations, which has been considering the Korean question since 1947 without ever arriving at a solution satisfactory to the Korean people, must finally recognize the claims and wishes of that people and do everything within its power to promote the attainment of its legitimate aspirations. Any other attitude would ultimately be tantamount to depriving the Korean people of its right to self-determination and national sovereignty and would be contrary to the principles, spirit and provisions of our Charter.

To promote a return to peace, to put an end to the tensions and threats of war in Korea, and to speed up the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, we must first of all put an end to foreign interference, in all its forms and manifestations, in the internal affairs of the Korean nation. Then we must put an end to the Armistice Agreement, the ineffectiveness of which is recognized by all because of the flagrant and repeated violations by the United States, and replace this by a peace agreement.

The so-called United Nations Force in Korea is nothing but an American occupation force which serves as an umbrella for the puppet régime created and installed in Seoul by the Americans and which is kept in power thanks to the protection and massive and multifaceted aid which it receives from its masters and protectors.

By providing its cover and lending its insignia and its flag to the forces of aggression and occupation in Korea the United Nations has placed itself at the service of a policy which is contrary to its ideals. It is time for the United Nations to correct its own mistakes and repair the injustices it has committed in respect of the Korean people by proceeding without delay or conditions to the withdrawal of the so-called United Nations Force and the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Command. That decision would be in accord with article 4, paragraph 60 of the Armistice Agreement of Korea of 27 July 1953 which recommends a high-level meeting of the representatives of the two parties concerned in order to solve, *inter alia*, the problem of the "withdrawal from Korea of all foreign armed forces". It would be in accord with the North-South Joint State-

ment of 4 July 1972, the first principle of which states that:

"...unification shall be achieved through independent Korean efforts without being subject to external imposition or interference." (A/8727, p. 39)

Finally, it would be in accord with the consensus which the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly adopted on the question of Korea.

Certain delegations never tire of telling us that the departure of the United Nations Force from Korea would aggravate tension and insecurity in Korea and that in the long run it would bring about a breach of peace in the peninsula. This argument can deceive nobody.

By devising means to maintain the *status quo* in Korea at all costs, by a policy of threats, provocation and aggression in respect to the North, by having recourse to plots, manoeuvres and intrigues so as to make the division of Korea definitive, and blindly supporting the claims and division of the South against the North, the so-called United Nations Force in Korea and the country which controls it and which it obeys, have been cast as the principal instigators of war in Korea.

We do not have to look far to discover who threatens peace in the region. The five-point declaration made by President Kim Il Sung on 23 June 1973 on the reunification of Korea should remove all doubts as to the peaceful intentions and democratic objectives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as regards the reunification of the country. Regrettably, we cannot say the same of the Seoul authorities, who have never concealed their intention to settle the Korean question by force and achieve reunification by victory over communism.

The recent admission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the great family of the non-aligned countries proves, were that still necessary, that the vast majority of the countries of the world appreciate and admire the just principles and peaceful objectives which underlie its foreign policy.

Actually, the slanders, lies and campaigns against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea by its enemies are intended to elude the vigilance of international opinion the better to camouflage the war preparations of the Seoul régime and the United States against North Korea. With a population of more than 30 million, South Korea maintains a regular army of 700,000 men. It can mobilize 3 million at any time by calling on its reserves. It has enormous quantities of up-to-date military equipment and material, including nuclear weapons. It has recovered the weapons hurriedly removed from the coun-

tries of Indo-China. It benefits from the protection and unconditional support of the United States of America, whose occupation forces in two years increased from 38,000 to 42,000 men. It has received \$1,500 million in two years to finance the modernization of its army. In the circumstances it is clear that the threat of war comes from the southern part of Korea.

In speaking of the withdrawal of the foreign troops stationed in Korea, we are referring not only to the so-called "United Nations Forces" but also to other foreign troops on Korean soil under any other military arrangement. In this connexion, American troops in Korea within the framework of the notorious Mutual Defence Treaty between the United States and South Korea should withdraw from Korea if there is a real desire to create a climate conducive to normalization of the situation in the region.

The 1953 Mutual Defence Treaty between the United States and South Korea is a flagrant violation of the provisions of the Korean Armistice Agreement. It allows an unlimited number of American troops to be stationed in any part of South Korea, which is contrary to the spirit and letter of the Armistice Agreement to which the United States is a party. The United States has no further reason to maintain its troops in South Korea 22 years after the Armistice Agreement on Korea and 17 years after the withdrawal from North Korea of the volunteers of the People's Republic of China.

It is time to put an end to the 1953 Korean Armistice Agreement, which has never functioned satisfactorily for the Korean people. The number of times it has been violated by the United States runs into the hundreds and thousands. Furthermore, the United States denounced it in August 1953 by entering into military commitments with the Seoul régime, thus cancelling those to which it had freely and solemnly subscribed by becoming a party to the Armistice Agreement a month earlier.

In the circumstances, to guarantee a genuine and durable peace and to ensure security in Korea, the proposal of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to convert the Armistice Agreement into a peace agreement seems wise, reasonable and worthy of our support.

My delegation wishes to emphasize that, following the departure of the Chinese volunteers in 1958, the only real parties to the Armistice Agreement are the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States of America. Only those two countries are authorized and qualified to determine, by common agreement, the fate of the Armistice Agreement.



South Korea has not signed the Armistice Agreement. What is more, it has always ignored and sabotaged it. It is therefore absurd to endeavour to include South Korea among the signatories of what some delegations call "other arrangements to keep the Armistice Agreement in force".

It is the duty of our Organization now to create the conditions necessary for the attainment of the legitimate aspirations of the Korean people by promoting a climate of peace, mutual trust and co-operation on the Korean peninsula.

The draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709, of which my country is a sponsor, meets these objectives and we venture to hope that it will meet with the approval of the vast majority of the General Assembly and that we shall thus contribute to the restoration of peace in Korea, to the consolidation of Korea's independence and to the unity of the Korean people.



## FLORIN

### German Democratic Republic

The delegation of the German Democratic Republic listened with great attention and extreme interest to the statement of the representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Li Jong Mok. That statement contained a detailed, thorough description of the situation on the Korean peninsula and reflected the consistent efforts of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to proceed from the present armistice towards a lasting settlement that will effectively guarantee peace in that part of the world and promote the peaceful reunification of the country.

His statement once again most eloquently demonstrates the wish of the people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for lasting peace, security and the easing of tension. The Government of the German Democratic Republic supports the just demands and constructive proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The consideration of the Korean question at this session of the General Assembly of the United Nations is taking place at a time characterized by encouraging changes in the international field in favour of peace, security and détente. This process, which has become particularly obvious in Europe, where a few weeks ago the Conference on Security and Co-operation was successfully concluded, opens up new opportunities for making détente irreversible and extending it to other parts of the world.

The German Democratic Republic entirely shares the view expressed at the thirtieth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations by the representatives of many countries that peace and détente should also be extended to parts of the world where up until today there still prevail situations fraught with conflict which pose a constant threat to peace throughout

the world. Such a situation undoubtedly prevails on the Korean peninsula.

The core of this problem is the presence of foreign troops in South Korea under the United Nations flag and the absence of a peace agreement. We have always looked upon the occupation of South Korea by foreign troops under the United Nations flag as one of the darkest pages in the chronicles of the United Nations.

The occupation of the southern part of the Korean peninsula by so-called United Nations forces, consisting of contingents of the armed forces of the United States of America, was carried out in spite of the proclaimed will of the Korean people. The fact that the Korean question still remains unsettled and that the dialogue begun in 1972 between the two parts of Korea has made no progress, shows that the presence of foreign troops in South Korea has in no way led to positive developments in that area. Quite the contrary, the presence of these troops has always been a source of dangerous tension between South and North and has posed a threat to international peace and security.

One of the most noble tasks and obligations of the United Nations, according to the letter and spirit of its Charter, is that it should do everything in its power to strengthen international security, to eliminate conflicts and constantly to promote the creation of peaceful conditions under which peoples can coexist.

Therefore, the United Nations should decide to dissolve the so-called United Nations Command and to withdraw all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag. In this way military confrontation would be reduced and the way would be opened to lasting peace in the Korean peninsula. Abuse of the United Nations flag would be eliminated from that part of the world and the foreign occupation of South Korea would be ended. The Korean people would be able to resolve their own national problems independently, by peaceful means, without outside interference.

I should like to stress that only the Korean people alone can decide its own national problems and no one else. The formal dissolution of the so-called United Nations Command, which is the aim of some States, is not a constructive solution to the key issues in the Korean problem. I am referring to the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1.

What is normally understood by the Korean problem can be settled independently by the Korean people themselves, by peaceful and democratic means, only after the total withdrawal

of foreign troops from Korean territory. If we take a realistic look at the actual state of affairs, it is not difficult to see that the creation of the so-called United Nations Command was and remains a concomitant phenomenon of the illegal occupation of southern Korean territory by armed forces of the United States of America under the United Nations flag.

The withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag would automatically mean the end of the existence of that Command. If the United Nations were to eliminate the abnormal situation in South Korea, that would be an important step towards the elimination of this hotbed of tension in Asia and would facilitate the extension of the process of détente to the whole world. It would help the Korean people independently, without outside interference, to settle their own national problems and promote favourable development — development which has begun to appear in outline in the Korean peninsula from the beginning of 1972. The sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1 are obviously aiming at something quite different.

There is no mistaking the handwriting of the United States of America whose troops, abusing the United Nations flag, are stationed in South Korea. Obviously, that draft resolution is aiming at a kind of indefinite legalization of the illegal stationing in South Korea of United States troops — this includes atomic weapons — again by making wrongful use of the United Nations. We cannot agree with that. It is time now to put an end to all abuse of the United Nations for purposes threatening peace.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has over the years come forward with a number of constructive proposals to solve the Korean problem peacefully. These proposals have met with widespread approval. However, the South Korean régime, encouraged by the presence of foreign troops under the United Nations flag in the South of the country, has rejected these legitimate proposals and is cruelly repressing progressive and democratic forces of South Korea which support the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. At the same time, this régime is stepping up military provocation against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

I must point out that all the talk about the so-called threat from the North is nothing but an attempt to undermine the growing international authority of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and to camouflage aggressive actions against

the people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and thus distort the real facts. These attempts are doomed to failure.

How we are to view, I ask, the military assistance recently promised by the United States to the South Korean régime to the value of \$250 million? I am sure you will agree with me if I say that this so-called assistance will not promote the peaceful solution of the Korean problem. It is nothing but assistance to an adventurist régime bought by armaments and will inevitably lead to an increase in the arms race in the area.

Events in south Korea have shown that the presence of foreign troops under the United Nations flag are a dangerous obstacle to democratic progressive development. At the same time, it is a flagrant violation of the Armistice Agreement signed in 1953, which provides for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea.

A number of speakers have quite rightly pointed out that there is not a single foreign soldier on the soil of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Certain United States circles obviously do not want to meet the reasonable demands of world public opinion. They are still operating from position of strength. We saw that happening once more in this room yesterday. The United Nations must make it clearly understood that the time is now past when such a policy could be successful.

Only a few days ago the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Kim Il Sung once again stressed that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea insisted on the conclusion of a peace agreement between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States of America which would eliminate the danger of a new war and ensure lasting peace in Korea. He stressed that after the conclusion of such an agreement and the withdrawal of American troops from South Korea concrete measures must be taken to eliminate military conflict between North and South. He proposed a substantial reduction in the strength of the troops in the North and the South, to the level of 100,000 or less, and the cessation of the arms race on both sides. Kim Il Sung proposed a constructive programme for bringing about national unity, and that is further proof of the peace-loving nature of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The dissolution of the so-called United Nations Command and the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag is an urgent necessity.

The presence of those troops is an anachronism and a constant, continuing interference in the internal affairs of the Korean people. A decision by the United Nations to withdraw foreign troops stationed in South Korea under its flag would promote the elimination of a dangerous source of crisis in Asia and have a favourable effect on the strengthening of international détente.

The delegation of the German Democratic Republic is firmly convinced that the draft resolution presented by Algeria (A/C.1/L.709), of which the German Democratic Republic is a sponsor, constitutes an appropriate basis for the solution of this problem in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter. It calls upon the real parties to the Armistice Agreement "to replace the Korean Military Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement as a measure to ease tension and maintain and consolidate peace in Korea", and urgently appeals to the North and the South of Korea "to observe the principles of the North-South joint statement and take practical measures for ceasing arms reinforcement, reducing the armed forces of both sides drastically to an equal level, preventing armed conflicts and guaranteeing against the use of force against the other side, and thereby remove the military confrontation".

In some statements made in this Committee unworthy attempts have been made automatically to reproduce the conditions that existed in various parts of the world and apply them to the situation in the Korean peninsula. That can only lead to misleading conclusions. This applies to the theories about the so-called divided countries. I could say a great deal about that, but I do not wish to do so because, according to our agenda, we are today discussing the Korean problem.



## PUNTSAGNOROV

### Mongolia

Mr. Chairman, since I am speaking for the first time in this Committee, I should like to congratulate you most warmly on your election to the chairmanship of the First Committee, and I should like to extend to you personally and to all the officers of the Committee our sincerest good wishes for success in your guidance of the work of this important General Assembly body.

In the view of my delegation, events in the world arena are providing encouraging prospects for strengthening the peace and security of all peoples. Further deepening of détente and the normalization of relations among States, which was given a new impulse by the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, have become the most important trend in contemporary international relations. The historical victory of the peoples of Indo-China over the forces of imperialist aggression and reaction, the downfall of the strongholds of colonialism in Africa and the successes of the national liberation movements have exerted a favourable influence on the entire international situation.

We consider that in order to strengthen the positive changes and further improvement of the international atmosphere, the elimination of existing hotbeds of tension and sources of conflict, in particular in Asia, which is the most vast and most densely populated continent on earth, is of paramount importance.

As is well known, one of the hotbeds of the Second World War was in Asia and recently-aggressive wars were unleashed in Asia by aggressive imperialist forces, wars which threatened to grow into a global conflict, and at present there are still, in various areas of Asia, hotbeds of tension which are fraught with very serious consequences. The existence of such sources of tension is related primarily to the imperialist policy of intervention in the domestic affairs of other peoples. The situa-

tion on the Korean peninsula is a vivid example of such policies. For more than a quarter of a century the aspirations of the Korean people to national reunification have remained unfulfilled, and that is because of the presence in the southern part of Korea of American troops under the United Nations flag.

In the discussion of the Korean question at the present session of the General Assembly Mongolia, together with other countries, has become a sponsor of a draft resolution (A/C.1/L. 709) on the creation of favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. The draft resolution calls for the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Command, the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag, the replacement of the Armistice Agreement by a peace agreement and the adoption of practical measures to eliminate military confrontation and ensure durable peace in Korea. Only such effective measures could remove the main obstacles to a peaceful settlement of the Korean question, reduce tension and create conditions for the settlement of the Korean national problems by the Koreans themselves, without any outside interference.

Mongolia, as an Asian country whose people have historic ties and links of brotherly friendship with the Korean people, sincerely hopes that the just cause will ultimately triumph and that the legitimate aspirations of the Korean people to national reunification will be fulfilled.

Mongolia fully supports the active efforts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea aimed at reducing tension on the Korean peninsula and at a peaceful and independent reunification of the country, as a considerable contribution to the strengthening of peace in Asia.

The communiqué about the visit of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Mongolian People's Republic to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea stated:

"In an exchange of views on international problems the two parties confirmed their firm determination to continue to strive consistently to strengthen... peace and security in Asia and throughout the world."

I should like to take this opportunity to welcome warmly here the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Comrade Li Jong Mok, who in his very meaningful statement set forth very clearly the position of his country on the question under consideration.

No objective person can fail to note the constructive nature



of the well-known proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the independent and peaceful reunification of the country which were reflected in the three principles for the reunification of the country contained in the North-South Joint Communiqué (A/8727, annex I), in the five-point programme stipulated by President Kim Il Sung on 23 June 1973, as well as in the proposal to conclude a peace agreement between the true parties to the Armistice Agreement and others. Those proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the main idea of which is independent and peaceful national reunification, are based on a realistic assessment of the actual situation on the Korean peninsula and are aimed at accelerating the reunification of the country by the adoption of step-by-step measures to eliminate tension between North and South, and at the solution of other domestic problems. The implementation of those proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which reflect the national aspirations of the entire Korean people, would undoubtedly promote the eventual reunification of North and South Korea.

As is stated in the Memorandum of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea dated 17 August 1975,

"If... the intervention of outside forces is removed in Korea, the north and the south of Korea will be able to solve excellently the domestic affairs of the nation through peaceful negotiations." (A/C.1/1054, p. 14)

It is obvious that the presence of foreign troops in South Korea is preventing the normal process of dialogue between North and South. Indeed, how can true reunification be achieved when in southern Korea there are forces armed to the teeth threatening the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The presence of those troops not only is a threat to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea but also poisons the atmosphere in Asia and the Far East.

The representative of the South Korean régime tried in his statement to paint a very frightening picture of an alleged threat from the North. However, the facts indicate quite the contrary. The facts adduced in *The Statesman's Year Book* for 1974/1975 show that the armed forces of South Korea are considerably more numerous than those of the North. The United States of America is systematically replenishing the arsenals of the South Korean troops with modern weapons, and furthermore there are more than 40,000 American troops in South Ko-

rea, equipped with tactical nuclear weapons, while at the same time there are no foreign troops in North Korea.

We should like to recall that in the statement of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea of 11 August 1975 it was stressed that:

"The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has made it clear time and again that it has no intention of 'invading the south'." (A/C.1/1054, p. 5).

In the light of these facts it becomes quite obvious that the rulers of South Korea, encouraged and supported by foreign military aid, are indulging in rhetoric concerning their readiness to undertake a dialogue, while in fact they are trying to perpetuate the division of the country and are following the dangerous course of aggravating the situation in the Far East. Such a policy is not only contrary to the national interests of Korea but also contains the threat of a new conflict in that area of the world.

We are convinced that the Korean people itself should have the final word concerning the fate of its own country, and should be allowed to take that decision without any foreign interference whatsoever. Only on the basis of this principle can a just solution be found to the Korean problem — a solution which would be fully in harmony with the spirit of our time and with the ideals of the United Nations.

It is no accident that the initiatives taken and the efforts made on the basis of this principle by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have been given broad support by many States and by progressive public opinion throughout the world. At the same time, our delegation would like to point out that the draft resolution submitted by the United States and several other countries disregards the main element in a settlement of the Korean problem: namely, the withdrawal of foreign troops and the granting to the Korean people of the possibility of solving their own national affairs themselves. For this reason that draft resolution is unacceptable to my delegation.

The efforts of the United States to maintain its troops in South Korea under various pretexts even after the dissolution of the United Nations Command are a source of great concern to us. This would mean the further aggravation of the sufferings and hardships of this divided people and the maintenance of a dangerous situation on the Korean peninsula. For this reason there can be no compromise with respect to the withdraw-

wal of the American troops from Korean soil, which they invaded more than 20 years ago under the United Nations flag.

In 1973, at its twenty-eighth session the General Assembly adopted a resolution on the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK), which, in point of substance, was simply an instrument for intervention in the internal affairs of Korea. The time has come to take a cardinal step forward in settling the Korean question — a step which is provided for in the draft resolution submitted by a large group of socialist and non-aligned countries. It is the duty of the United Nations immediately to correct and remedy this absolutely abnormal and intolerable situation — a situation in which the name and flag of the United Nations are used to justify gross interference in the internal affairs of the Korean people — and to see to it that American troops leave Korea once and for all.

We call on all United Nations Members to support the just struggle of the Korean people for its national reunification and for the establishment of bases for a durable peace on the Korean peninsula.



## RABETAFIKA

### Madagascar

The Allies of the Second World War left the United Nations a heavy and complex inheritance when, 32 years ago, they promised the Korean people freedom and independence, since that promise, under the pressure of geopolitical considerations, had to yield to the requirements of the cold war and undergo several transformations so that the occupation and division of the peninsula might appear more justified. Our responsibility is thus doubly committed, since we must ensure for the Korean people the protection of the Charter, while, on the other hand, we agreed, at a given time, to be the instrument of aggressive and expansionist imperialism. The fundamental anomaly of the situation could not escape the majority of States Members.

Indeed, the Organization has been involved for 28 years in the Korean problem, and the delegation of responsibility to the United States, on dubious and illegal terms, moreover, cannot mean that we have permanently renounced the collective exercise of our rights. Thus the Security Council, acting under Article 24 of the Charter, established the United Nations Command, and called on the United States of America to appoint the Commander. Twenty-five years later most, if not all, the Members of the Organization consider that the mission that was allegedly carried out by that Command has become an anachronism, and that the Command must therefore be dissolved, all the more so since we cannot exercise effective and serious control over that body, which has always acted outside the rules generally accepted for peace-keeping operations.

Legally speaking, the responsibility of the United States over the Command is neither primary nor exclusive, because it derives from a specific mandate and is exercised, nominally at least, on behalf of all the Members of the Organization. If we wish it, we have the authority to determine the modalities for dissolving the United Nations Command, but the United States,

acting under our mandate, has no right to impose on us unilateral views intended, moreover, to promote individual political interests. For the American authorities to claim the right to attach pre-conditions to this dissolution constitutes a genuine challenge to the authority of the Organization and a clear abuse of confidence.

Likewise, the United States has a tendency to test the credulity of the Members of the Organization by declaring that of the 42,000 American soldiers stationed in South Korea, only 300 are under the United Nations Command. In 1953 the reoccupation of South Korea by American troops was unfortunately sanctioned by the Armistice Agreement, whereas the Mutual Defence Treaty between South Korea and the United States did not yet exist. In the 60s, some 10 years after the entry into force of that Treaty, we were made to believe that the American troops stationed in South Korea were United Nations Forces, in order to justify the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly regarding their upkeep. It was even admitted officially that 95 per cent of the United Nations forces in South Korea were American troops, wearing blue helmets. Now attempts are made to manipulate accounts and falsify documents in order to state that the United Nations now has only 300 men there, without any explanation of how that reduction, starting on 25 August 1975, and not announced until 22 September, was carried out. The discretionary powers of a mandatory Power, if they exist, have limits which decency and good faith must respect.

Let us even admit that these 42,000 American soldiers are stationed in South Korea because of the South Korean-American Treaty. We, therefore, have here the signs of the beginning of a military intervention, or, if one likes, assistance required only, according to the stipulations of the American Senate when it ratified the Treaty:

“...in the case of an armed attack against the territory recognized by the United States as being under the legal control of the Republic of Korea.”

But no proof of the existence of any armed attack can be provided, and thus it is easy to understand why the American authorities insisted on having their troops in South Korea pass as United Nations troops, so as not to incur the censure of the legislative power. Now the claim is that a dangerous situation exists in the peninsula, and it is alleged that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea intends to proceed to the “unifica-

tion by force" which the American authorities themselves had initiated and applied in 1951, and now pretend to forget.

To sum up, as long as American public opinion was largely against any military intervention in Korea, the American troops in Korea were United Nations forces, and when the American Government wants to prove to the same public opinion, and to its allies, that it must maintain a presence in Asia, after the political-military defeat in Indo-China, the United Nations forces once more become American troops, in the absence of any multilateral or regional pact or aegis under which they can shelter.

We believe one should have the courage to face the consequences of one's acts, and honesty demands that the Organization should not be forced to become the victim of illogical and unreasonable proposals. It matters little whether the occupation forces in South Korea are under one command or another. If they are the United Nations forces, obviously the dissolution of the Command would *ipso facto* mean their withdrawal; if they are American troops, it suffices to point out that their presence is in formal violation of the Armistice Agreement of 27 July 1953, which provides for the withdrawal of all foreign troops; if they are in South Korea under the Mutual Defence Treaty, then that Treaty, which should give place to an international agreement, is counter to the spirit and the letter of the provisions of the Armistice Agreement.

It has been repeatedly affirmed in this debate, and in previous debates, that the United Nations Command, the United Nations Forces, and the Armistice Agreement are parts of a delicate, balanced and indispensable mechanism for the maintenance of peace and security in the Korean peninsula. But the Command has no longer any reason to exist, the United Nations forces are hard to define, and it is desired to maintain, in spite of everything, an Agreement, notorious for endless violations and which, as stated in article V (para. 62) of the Armistice Agreement, is supposed to be replaced:

"...by provision in an appropriate agreement for a peaceful settlement at a political level between both sides."

(Article V (para. 62) )

The United Nations, which is legally a party to the Armistice Agreement, has no interest in the continuance of this state of war — which is contrary to the spirit of the Charter — and can therefore put an end to this Agreement by denouncing it. The responsibility of the United Nations, however, is such that its action cannot be limited to a mere denunciation, and it has

a duty to propose the conclusion of a peace agreement between the mandatory Power of the past, the United States, and the other signatory party which has the powers of a State. That process is simple and logical; it takes into account both the existing realities and the aspirations of the parties, namely, the desire of the United Nations to free itself from the situation of interference into which it was led to through the partisan consideration of the desire, not to say the *diktat*, of a great Power, and on the other hand, the wish of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to put an end to the state of war in the peninsula, thus going beyond what the authors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1, timidly venture to propose, surrounding themselves with precautions of a degree of detail that becomes tedious.

It was then that confusion was introduced into the minds of the other Members of the United Nations. We speak of the "real parties" to the Armistice Agreement, designating thereby the mandatory of the United Nations and the other signatory State, deliberately excluding South Korea, which refused to become a party to the Agreement, and also the People's Republic of China, which did not officially participate in the Korean war. Others wish us to address ourselves to the parties concerned in the maintenance of the Armistice Agreement, whereas we would expect them to prefer to say "parties concerned in concluding a peace agreement". It is clear that South Korea itself excluded itself from the Armistice Agreement which it now claims to wish to maintain and that, for it, a peace agreement does not seem to deserve priority.

We would say further that the accusation made against us of removing South Korea from the process of normalization in the peninsula and of ignoring the possibility of a constructive dialogue between the two parties, is unfounded. In fact in operative paragraph 3 of our draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709, we appeal to North and South Korea to observe the principles of the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972 and to take concrete measures to eliminate military confrontation, thus ensuring security, and to maintain a lasting peace in Korea.

Other arguments have been advanced that the procedure we propose, and which includes dissolution of the United Nations Command, the withdrawal of foreign troops, simultaneous negotiations to transform the Armistice Agreement into a peace agreement and to normalize relations between the North and the South, would create a legal vacuum, and even a military vacuum. First of all we must ascertain whether the United Na-

tions as an Organization can allow itself to follow the reasoning of certain States which can accommodate themselves to foreign military occupation and even find therein a singular virtue. As to the allegation of a legal vacuum, we must again refer those who make this allegation to paragraph 62 of the Agreement regarding the duration of its validity.

For their part, the alarmists, whether with good or bad intentions, claim that as soon as the mechanism of the Armistice is reconsidered the Democratic People's Republic of Korea will invade the south. Thus they do not take into account the second principle enunciated in the North-South Joint Communiqué, whereby reunification is to be carried out by peaceful means and without recourse to armed force; nor do they take account of repeated declarations by the North Korean authorities, the last of which was made by President Kim Il Sung himself on 9 October last, and which affirm unequivocally that there is no intention on the part of the North to invade the South. Why then should we not give them a minimum of credibility, while the peaceful intentions of South Korea are highly praised, that same South Korea which, in the name of a balance vainly sought since 1957, has agreed to the nuclearization of the region and the introduction of increasingly sophisticated weapons, contrary to the provisions of paragraph 13 of the Armistice Agreement?

Finally, the United States accuses our draft resolution of not providing for the mechanisms of a peace agreement. It knows very well that such a question cannot be dealt with in a preliminary resolution but only on the basis of the precise proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the discussions which they undertake with it. We must recall once again that the United Nations will not be a direct party to that peace agreement but we must note, in order to be able to apportion the responsibilities, on the one hand the points which the Democratic People's Republic of Korea submitted to the United States on 25 March 1974 and which appear in document A/C.1/1054 at pages 12 and 13, and on the other hand the manifest reluctance of the United States and its desire to find at best alternative arrangements to the present Armistice Agreement so as to justify its military occupation of South Korea.

We share the same concern to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. From the point of view of the United States, that reunification must proceed through dialogue, mutual exchanges and co-operation between North and South but, paradoxically, it must be accommodated to the



existence of an Armistice Agreement and the maintenance of its provisions which sanction the occupation and division of the peninsula, thus promoting instability, uncertainty and foreign interference.

For our part, we believe that the reunification of Korea is a question principally of concern to the Koreans and that it would be hazardous to predetermine the modalities, even though we may be inspired by generous and disinterested feelings. We have already taken note of the three principles of the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972. We have taken note of the five points which the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has been proposing since 1973 regarding the reduction of military tension between North and South.

The only valid contribution which the United Nations can make is not to take up these proposals as its own, but to facilitate their acceptance, to assist in their possible revision and implementation. We have endeavoured to do this in our draft resolution with the maximum of sincerity and the minimum of restriction, seeking to give the North-South dialogue a content which will respond fully to the requirements for the maintenance of peace and security. The measures we propose in the first two operative paragraphs, if adopted, will create favourable conditions for the normalization of the situation in Korea. Were they to be rejected, the Organization would then have to bear the heavy responsibility of having abdicated its authority, which is already challenged, subordinated the interests of the Korean people to the claims of a great Power and abandoned the objective of the peaceful reunification of Korea.



## HABAMENSHI

### Rwanda

Mr. Chairman, in speaking for the first time in our debate, I should like first of all, on behalf of my delegation, to extend to you my most sincere and warm congratulations on your well-deserved election to the chairmanship of our Committee.

Your well-known ability and your wide experience are guarantees of success for our work. My delegation promises you its full co-operation and its modest contribution to your task.

My delegation also wishes to extend its congratulations to the other officers of the Committee. My country, which has brotherly relations with the sister Republic of Burundi and the Federal Republic of Germany, is highly gratified by the election of the representatives of those friendly countries to the posts of Vice-Chairmen, as well by the choice of our brother and friend Mr. Arteaga Acosta of Venezuela to be Rapporteur of our Committee.

Just a few days ago our Committee was considering questions of international co-operation relating to the peaceful use of outer space and the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. Since the outset of our work we have dealt solely with peaceful methods for ensuring peace and security among peoples and nations, among all men without any distinction whatsoever. My delegation followed with interest all the statements made, and we note with satisfaction that all delegations have expressed a common wish for that co-operation and peaceful, friendly, fraternal and harmonious coexistence which are the very basis of our Organization's philosophy.

Today another item related to international peace and security, the Korean problem, is before our Committee for its consideration, and we must examine it in all its concrete reality. This problem concerns a people subjected to domination by force. It is a problem involving a nation that has been divided

at bayonet point; it concerns men who have been terrorized by the threat of nuclear weapons; finally, it involves human beings like all of us — men, women and children who for 30 years have endured all the hardships arising from armed aggression.

The statement made by the representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea renders further comment on the subject almost unnecessary. Twenty years ago a new form of foreign domination was set up in Korea with all the consequences that military occupation entails. We note that the country has arbitrarily been divided and subjected to the pull of different ideologies and social systems that have been imported to the territory. However, all this has not blunted the wish of the Korean people to belong to the same family, a family whose members all have essentially the same traditions, the same culture and the same destiny. Faith in liberty and national dignity has strengthened the patriotism and the desire for unity of this people, which has been subjected to so many hardships and humiliations. Need we seek further proof of that desire for unity and freedom after so many years of forced separation than the North-South Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972? The Pyongyang and Seoul talks, which took place among the responsible authorities of the two parts of Korea, were the logical sequel to this revolt of an entire people against the common enemy, against sinister foreign oppression. For, indeed, the two sides agreed to achieve reunification independently, without recourse to foreign forces of foreign intervention. This is the first point of the Communiqué. It is so eloquent I shall not even comment on it for fear of repeating a truism known to all. Even the most ill-intentioned observer would agree with these conclusions.

Secondly, the Communiqué refers to the need for peaceful reunification without recourse to armed force against one or the other party.

My delegation wishes the General Assembly to know that the Government of Rwanda, whose domestic and foreign policies are based on the principles of peace and national unity, of co-operation among all nations, great and small, in a spirit of mutual respect, has — it goes without saying — a clear grasp of the Korean problem. My country has diplomatic relations with both parts of Korea.

I do not want to engage in sterile rhetoric before this Committee, but I should like to refer to my country's reply to that request for support given in the presence of all the Rwandese authorities and the diplomatic corps. At the second conference

of Rwandese ambassadors on 17 July 1975, our Chief of State, His Excellency Major General Juvénal Habyarimana, President of the Committee for Peace and National Unity, President and founder of the National Revolutionary Movement for Development, and President of our Republic, stated the following with respect to the Korean question:

"We are disturbed by the demarcation lines that have been drawn, constituting an insurmountable obstacle dividing a single people. In view of this background, the Korean problem has impelled all of us to take realistic positions, positions which we believe are such as to contribute to a settlement of this problem. Our viewpoint has been clearly defined in the various international gatherings where our ambassadors have been accredited. We feel that the unification of the Korean nation is a matter falling within the exclusive purview of the Korean people themselves. The process of unification should in our view be carried out peacefully, without any foreign intervention. For, indeed, any foreign intervention in this matter would make it difficult to achieve a freely negotiated solution."

Our Chief of State was very categorical on this subject, and I need hardly comment on his remarks. Therefore, on behalf of my delegation, I state that my country has made a very clear, precise assessment of this problem and, acting on its own initiative, has become a sponsor of the draft resolution on the creation of favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea (A/C.1/L.709). In so doing my delegation feels that draft resolution not only answers the concerns of our own Government but also the aspirations of the Korean people.

At this stage in our debate my delegation will not go into the various reasons which militate in favour of this draft resolution, for outstanding speakers who have already addressed the Committee have already done that so well that it only remains for me to express the hope that our draft resolution, the validity of which is apparent to all, will become the focal point of support for all who sincerely want the Korean people to enjoy peace and unity under conditions of freedom.



## ECUA MIKO

### Equatorial Guinea

I should not like to miss this first opportunity for me to join the many speakers who have preceded me in expressing pleasure at your election, Sir, as Chairman of our Committee. Your eminent political and diplomatic skills and your experience, as well as the country you represent, cause my delegation to be confident that our work will meet with complete success. We also congratulate the Vice-Chairman and the Rapporteur of the Committee. Their experience and qualifications are well known and recognized.

I should be failing in my duty if I did not express my profound gratitude to Ambassador Ortiz de Rozas, Permanent Representative of the Republic of Argentina to the United Nations, for the effective and dynamic manner in which he guided the work of this Committee to its conclusion at the twenty-ninth session of the United Nations General Assembly.

Further, I should like cordially to welcome to this Committee the delegations of Cape Verde, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, and Papua New Guinea, and to wish them success in the new tasks they have undertaken, both in the national interest as well as in that of the international community.

Once again, as so many other times in the history of the United Nations, we are meeting in this conference room to consider, among other things, the question of Korea. Every time we deliberate on this question more new elements appear. There are more arguments, rationales, and differences of approach.

Fortunately, it would appear that in all this tangled skein there is the thread of an indication that what we are trying to do is to establish and preserve true international peace and security, in our desire to help the world to forget the disasters which it has known throughout its history. But at times I wonder why and for what we want peace which can only be achieved by force of arms, when it seems less and less feasible for peo-

ples to enjoy complete and total self-determination or the full exercise of their right to social justice?

As is well known — and I hope the majority will agree with me — the peninsula of Korea has been divided for 30 years by the might of foreign Powers, without even the assent of its own population, whether that in the North or in the South. Nobody is unaware that this division, like the many others that the new generations are paying for today, was effected in accordance with the imperialists' expansion schedule which, to gain a fictitious peace and security, advocated the establishment of military bases and the stationing of armies in territories of other sovereign States, thus violating the sacred principle of the sovereignty to which all are entitled. While consolidating their own national union, the imperialists advocate the division of others, and not even by means of the dialogue, which we now advocate as the only peaceful and effective means to settle disputes, but using the language of armed force and of threats, backed by strict economic sanctions, even though this did not succeed in Cambodia and Viet-Nam.

The history of the Korean peninsula is so long and so well known that I shall not dwell on it. Rather, I should like to make it clear that we have before us a concrete problem which can be settled either by weapons or by peaceful negotiations. What is this problem? It is that of a people divided by external forces and now fighting, on the battlefield and at the conference table, everywhere, for reunification.

What guarantees does this people bring the world community?

The Armistice Agreement which was signed 22 years ago; the principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national union stated publicly in the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972; the five-point programme for reunification presented by the head of State of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which comprises the elimination of the state of military confrontation and tension between the North and South, co-operation and various exchanges between the North and South, the convening of a national assembly made up of representatives of different sectors of the population and different people's parties and organizations of the North and the South, the achievement of the North-South confederation under the title of Confederal Republic of Koryo and its admission to the United Nations as a single political entity; and finally the just proposal to replace the Armistice Agreement with a stable peace agreement in Korea, to be signed by the real parties to it — all these only

prove the firm resolve of those parties to solve their dispute by peaceful means.

The reason which has made these contacts and dialogue impossible, if we want to call things by their name, is known to all present here. I shall reiterate it: it is the presence of North American military forces whose mission, as has been stated by other speakers, albeit in different terms does not only consist in taking over South Korea, or in setting up an obstacle to a dialogue between the North and the South; but from where but from Korea could the United States of America control the People's Republic of China and its neighbours, now that they cannot even show their faces in Cambodia, Viet-Nam and Laos?

This being so, the Government of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea cannot go along with those who advocate that the Korean people should continue to serve as a springboard for such operations.

In the light of the debate held in the course of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly, my delegation deems it unnecessary to revert to what has been called here "the United Nations Command". But what we do wish to recommend in this respect is the immediate withdrawal of the United Nations flag, which is being used in South Korea for goals and purposes which are quite contrary to the Charter of the United Nations. We have already mentioned the foreign military forces, and have called for their withdrawal as well as that of any other force stationed in the Korean peninsula, on the understanding that that would enable the Koreans themselves to solve their problem, since they have offered guarantees to the world community that they will use all peaceful means to this end.

We have closely followed the apparent efforts of the South Korean authorities to resume the dialogue, but we regret to see that as they make their invitation they are flanked by the North American Army on the right hand, and the negotiating table on the left. There is a saying, the truth of which has been proved in practice, to the effect that "He who calls a dog with a stick in his right hand and a bone in his left does not really mean to feed it".

My country is a sponsor of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709 which the representative of Algeria was so good as to introduce to this Committee for its consideration. The reasons for this are clear since the draft resolution reaffirms the right of self-determination and the principle of equality of all peoples; it condemns forced military occupation of foreign territories; it advocates non-intervention in the internal affairs of

other States, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. Likewise the draft provides conditions for a peaceful and independent reunification of the Korean peninsula and calls for the adoption of practical and urgent measures for ceasing arms reinforcement, and reducing the military forces, so as to avoid armed conflicts, and ensure the non-use of force against the other party.

The world community cannot hope to have more objective or promising guarantees and proposals than those provided in the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709, which my delegation hopes will meet with the approval of the majority in the Committee and, subsequently, in the General Assembly.

The Armistice Agreement, as we all agree, was not signed for the purpose of perpetuating and prolonging division in Korea; on the contrary, it was concluded with the intention of providing a peaceful means for the reunification of the Korean peninsula. Several of the speakers who have preceded me have advocated the continuation of the Armistice Agreement since tension still persists in Korea. My delegation believes that if it is really impossible to restore peace in that region it is precisely because of the presence of foreign armed forces and the existence of the Mutual Defence Agreement between the United States of America and the authorities of South Korea, both of which are in flagrant violation of the Armistice Agreement itself.

On the other hand, the Committee has before it the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1, which my delegation is compelled to reject because its sponsors did not take into account the highest interests and aspirations of the Korean people. On the contrary, they have endeavoured to give greater importance and priority to an agreement which has done nothing but legalize the foreign colonial and military régime which flouts the rights of an entire people and feeds on the blood of innocent Koreans. But let them remember that similar activities came to grief in Cambodia, Viet-Nam and Laos.

Furthermore, we consider it unnecessary to go into the substance of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1, since the sponsors of and sympathizers with the draft resolution have throughout the debate stated clearly that "the idea of the reunification of Korea is a myth; it is an impossible dream". If that is so, I wonder what they mean when they say in the second preambular paragraph of the draft resolution:

"The General Assembly,



“Desiring that progress be made towards the attainment of the goal of peaceful reunification of Korea on the basis of the freely expressed will of the Korean people...”

That was also stated repeatedly by the head of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the same day, when he stated:

“The course for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country mapped out by the great leader President Kim Il Sung most correctly reflects the unanimous will and aspiration of the entire Korean people in the north and the south” — I emphasize, in the north and the south — “and enjoys the active support and approval of the peoples of the whole world.” (2061st meeting, p. 21)

Finally, my delegation finds it difficult to support the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1, which expresses satisfaction with the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972, deliberately ignoring its objective.

In conclusion, I would emphasize that the Government of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea and its President Vitalicio Macias Nguema Biyogo are neither for nor against one group of authorities or opposed to the other, whether in the north or the south. Our intention is to assist and co-operate with the people of Korea in their just struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their country, an aspiration which is expressed at all levels in the territories of the two parties.



## AL-MUNTASSER

### Libyan Arab Republic

This year, in which the peoples of Indo-China have achieved resounding victories against colonialist aggression after a long and bitter struggle we should have very much liked to see the people of Korea, too, achieve its aspirations by getting rid

of the forces of foreign intervention, bring about the unification of its country, the north and the south, and join the international community as a free, independent unified State working for the economic and social progress of its people. Unfortunately, and very sadly, the cause of Korea remains as it has been for nearly a quarter of a century.

My delegation listened with close attention to the valuable statement made by Mr. Li Jong Mok, the head of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, in this Committee on 21 October, when he gave the reasons that had prevented the unification of Korea and the achievement of the national aspirations of his country, and referred to the obstacles in the way of that achievement.

The Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and other speakers on this item have pointed to the fact that the greatest obstacle to the unification of Korea is the presence of the forces of the United States of America in South Korea — I repeat, the presence of the forces of the United States of America in South Korea — under the flag of the United Nations, their intervention in the internal affairs of that country and their attempt to raise all possible obstacles to prevent its unification and to encourage the existence or the creation of two separate States.

Perhaps the strangest statement we heard was that made on 23 October by the representative of the United States when he said that the number of foreign troops under the United Nations flag did not exceed 300, while the remaining forces were present under a bilateral agreement between his Government

and the Government of South Korea. That is an old pretext that we have often heard from the colonialist countries when they try to justify their presence through such unequal agreements between the large colonialist Powers and the small developing States. The presence of foreign forces, on any pretext or in any shape, contravenes the United Nations Charter and the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of countries, and cannot be justified in any way whatsoever. The presence of those foreign troops for long years past has impeded the efforts of the Korean people to reunify their country, and has shaken the dignity of and respect for the United Nations, whose name and flag have been exploited for the carrying out of aggression against the struggling Korean people. Their presence strengthens the secessionist elements in South Korea and consolidates the artificial division imposed upon the Korean people against their will and desire. It also enables imperialism to continue to impose its influence in that area.

Speakers on both sides throughout the deliberations have come to agree that the solution of the problems of Korea should be left to the Koreans themselves, without any interference or external pressures. Unfortunately the sponsors of the American draft resolution insist at the same time on maintaining the presence of foreign troops in Korea, while some insist on recognition of a *fait accompli* and the acceptance of two separate States.

The time has come for the Members of this Organization to put an end to this outrageous violation of the Charter of the United Nations, to let this Organization play its true role in attempting to bring peace to the land of Korea and in the reunification of the Korean people, who are bound by ties of history, tradition, language and spiritual values, so that they may occupy their rightful and proper place among the peoples of the world, and to prevent the exploitation of the United Nations as an instrument of division and aggression against the aspirations of the people.

The people of the Libyan Arab Republic, motivated by their firm belief in the principle of the unity of peoples, fully support the efforts of the Korean people in their just struggle for the restoration of their national unity, in the face of the artificial division which was imposed on them by force more than a quarter of a century ago. Those efforts of the Korean people will certainly succeed if the intruders withdraw and if the Koreans are left to themselves to settle their own affairs and problems.

The delegation of the Libyan Arab Republic is among those which have sponsored the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709. We consider that draft resolution to be truly and fully to express the aspirations of the Korean people to reunify their country peacefully and independently as soon as possible on the basis of three principles: independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity. Our draft resolution calls for an end to outside interference, which is the main obstacle to the reunification of North and South Korea. We urge the Member States of the United Nations to support it and to vote for it.

The draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1, submitted by the United States and its allies, would maintain the *status quo*. It does not call for the withdrawal of foreign troops, generally speaking, whether they are under the United Nations or any other flag. That draft resolution would not help the Korean people to solve their problems, either in the long term or in the short term. In fact, it would increase tension in the peninsula and not ensure durable peace there.

My delegation reaffirms its deep faith that the heroic and just struggle of the Korean people will be crowned with success sooner or later; for, as history has taught us, however hard colonialism tries to block the way, the will of peoples is unconquerable.



## TOGBE

### Togo

My delegation extends its warmest congratulations to the Chairman of the Committee on the able and efficient manner in which he has been conducting our work. We also congratulate the other officers of the Committee on the appreciable contri-

bution they are making.

My delegation has already stated its position on the Korean question in the course of previous debates; we will not go back over those statements, because our position has remained unchanged. Accordingly we shall confine ourselves to making a few comments on the two draft resolutions before us.

My delegation is a sponsor of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709 because we have always favoured a united, independent Korea, master of its own destiny and free of all foreign domination and interference in its domestic affairs.

Contrary to what some would have us believe, the Korean imbroglio is not the result of the so-called invasion of South Korea by North Korea, but rather the sad outcome of a long series of interventions which certain Powers wish to perpetuate in their own interests, to the detriment of the legitimate aspirations of the Korean people. Thus it is that the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709 aims at putting an end to that foreign interference, which has lasted only too long.

My delegation considers that genuine, permanent peace in Korea can be achieved only through reunification of the country by peaceful means and by pursuing the dialogue between North and South. Indeed, this prerequisite has been recognized and accepted by both parties ever since the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972. In these conditions, it is strange, to say the least, that at a time when the Korean people wishes to live in peace and to regain its unity some should consider it normal that foreign troops be maintained in Korea under what is paradoxically called the "United Nations Command".

Now, as everyone knows, the so-called United Nations Command, which is still stationed in South Korea, is, in point of fact, nothing but a military force in the pay of certain Powers which have tried, by aggression and invasion, to transform Korea into a veritable quagmire following a well-prepared Machiavellian plan. As is well known also, the last foreign troops left North Korea immediately after signature of the Armistice Agreement of 27 July 1953.

The stationing of foreign troops in South Korea is not merely an anachronism and a provocation, but, above all, a threat to international peace and security. It is an unprovoked, unjustified and baseless threat which is further aggravated by the fact that those responsible for it wish to transform Korea into a vast powder keg by excessive and imprudent armaments of the southern part of the country.

My country feels, as do the other sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709, that a durable peace in Korea requires, first of all, the unconditional dissolution of the "United Nations Command" and the total and immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea. The maintenance of the "United Nations Command" and the presence of foreign troops in South Korea, especially after the North-South Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972, can no longer be tolerated. It does violence to the principle of the self-determination of peoples and is an evident obstacle to the attainment of the freely-expressed desire of the Korean people for peaceful reunification.

Furthermore, my delegation firmly supports the idea that the Armistice Agreement should be replaced by a peace agreement. It is inconceivable that an Armistice Agreement should last for so long. The signatories to the Armistice Agreement, as everyone knows, solemnly pledged themselves to terminate the Korean conflict and to put an end to the untold suffering, hardship and loss of human life entailed in the conflict for the parties concerned, in the hope of a final peace settlement.

That hope should not remain merely a stylistic phrase. It is high time for it to become a reality. That is why we feel that all the States Members of our Organization have an imperative duty to co-operate sincerely in restoring genuine peace in Korea, in the interest of the Korean people and in order also to strengthen international security. This leads me to comment briefly on the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1, sponsored by the United States of America and several Western great Powers.

My delegation, after careful study of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1, has noted a number of omissions, obscure points and ambiguities.

First of all, we consider that the fact that no mention has been made, intentionally or otherwise, of replacing the Armistice Agreement by a peace agreement considerably decreases the scope of the draft resolution. This omission gives grounds for doubting the sincerity of the desire for peace of some of the sponsors. The Armistice Agreement, under present conditions, can be replaced only by a peace agreement, as the final stage in a definitive settlement. To speak merely of amendments, additions and special provisions, while trying to maintain the Armistice Agreement in force is a step backward and betrays a lack of realism.

Furthermore, my delegation does not share the point of view expressed in the draft resolution according to which the Government of the United States

“...is prepared to terminate the United Nations Command on 1 January 1976, provided that the other parties directly concerned reach agreement on alternative arrangements mutually acceptable to them for maintaining the Armistice Agreement”.

As for us, we maintain that the Government of the United States is not empowered to take the place of the Security Council and the General Assembly in this area, although we do recognize that the Security Council, in resolution 85 (1950) of 31 July 1950, setting up a “unified command” of the forces in Korea, merely placed that Command under the authority of the United States, which was to submit frequent reports to the Security Council on the progress of the action that had been undertaken.

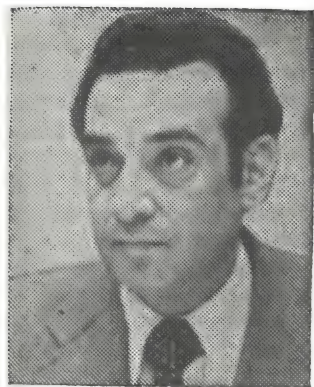
With respect to the desire expressed by the Government of the Republic of Korea in its statement of 27 June 1975, which is referred to in the draft resolution, according to which it would be ready to participate in arrangements to maintain the Armistice Agreement, such a statement seems surprising to us, to say the least, because, on the one hand, the Republic of Korea is not a signatory to the Armistice Agreement of 27 July 1953, and, on the other hand, for it to participate in subsequent negotiations on this question would mean perpetuating the present division of Korea, which, furthermore, would be contrary to the statement contained in the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972 concerning the peaceful and independent reunification of the country.

Finally, my delegation considers, contrary to the view of the sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1, that the objective of establishing a durable peace in Korea must be inextricably linked with the other fundamental objective which has so often been asserted by our Organization, namely, the establishment, by peaceful means, of a unified and independent Korea, an objective in which my country believes strongly.

My country is in favour of bringing about definitive peace in Korea through the immediate signing of a peace agreement to replace the Armistice Agreement, which no longer corresponds to the requirements of the international community of today.

The trend towards peace, promoted by détente, is an irreversible and irresistible movement throughout the world. Any opposition to that trend would betray short-sightedness. That is why my delegation will vote against the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1, which does not take account of the reality which our Organization must face with determination and objectivity, avoiding the errors of the past.





## EL-SHIBIB

Iraq

Although I am speaking at a late stage in this debate, I hope that it is still proper for me to extend to the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Mr. Li Jong Mok, our welcome to this Committee and to convey

to him our appreciation for the informative statement which he delivered earlier in this chamber.

As I belong to a nation that is divided into a number of States by the whims and the interests of foreign Powers and foreign occupiers — a nation that is united by history, culture and a common faith, yet forced to continue to struggle for its unity — I cannot but express my full support for the valiant struggle of the people of Korea to achieve the peaceful reunification of their country and its full liberation from foreign occupation. Our sympathy with the just and honourable cause of the Korean people and our identification with their struggle prompted us to become a sponsor of the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.709. We believe that if this draft resolution is implemented it will undoubtedly provide a practical contribution to the removal of tension, the establishment of a durable peace and the achievement of full independence and the peaceful reunification of the divided country.

The main provisions of our draft resolution are well known to members of this Committee. In brief, these provisions call for the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Command and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea, the replacement of the Armistice Agreement by a peace treaty between the signatories of that Agreement and a call for the North and the South to take a number of measures to maintain the peace and to work towards the peaceful reunification of Korea.

Allow me to deal, as briefly as possible, with these points and to consider some of the arguments presented by the pro-

ponents of the opposing draft resolution, which is contained in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1.

The representative of the United States informed us earlier in this debate of his Government's willingness to terminate the United Nations Command, so long as the Armistice Agreement is maintained. At face value, this may appear as a reasonable change of heart. We know how hard in the course of many years the United States and its supporters fought to thwart and, unhappily, have succeeded in thwarting the dissolution of the United Nations Command. We know how often those of us who advocated that measure were prevented from salvaging the name and the reputation of the United Nations from its despicable entanglement in United States cold-war policies. We all remember the hair-pulling and the warnings of doom and disaster should the United Nations Command ever be dissolved.

So, we are entitled to ask: why this change of heart? Well, there might be a number of answers, but I shall deal with what I consider to be two important ones.

First, an ever-increasing number of Members of this Organization have demonstrated that they are no longer willing to allow the United States to continue to exploit the name of the United Nations and its flag in its occupation policies. The dissolution last year of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK), that instrument for interference in the internal affairs of Korea, was a signal that the dissolution of the United Nations Command was bound to follow.

The second answer is: for purposes of deception. All previous United States representatives in this Committee have told us that the maintenance of the United Nations Command was vital to maintain peace to deter North Korean aggression against the South and that the dissolution of this formidable Command would be an unparalleled disaster. These arguments were maintained until the present United States representative told us during the course of this debate that there had been a change of argument. He introduced new facts by informing us that this formidable Command consisted of no more than 300 persons, who, besides protecting the peace and defending the South from northern aggression, had also to undertake the additional task of acting as the ceremonial honour guard of the Command.

That is the farce which we are asked to accept as a serious argument. Of course, we know the ploy, and we are not blind to the deception. United States hats are replacing United Na-

tions hats, and the United States flag is replacing the United Nations flag over United States military installations in Korea. This ploy is used so that, whatever action the General Assembly may take on the future of the Command, the United States can continue its occupation of the South and use it as a United States atomic war base. The peaceful reunification of Korea and the liberation of its territory from all foreign troops seem to have little place in the logic of United States strategic deployment.

Let me now deal with the question of replacing the Korean Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement. The United States representative told us that:

"In considering the question of termination of the United Nations Command, the chief concern of my Government is that the Armistice Agreement, which has been the basis for peace and security in the Korean peninsula for over 20 years, be maintained, in the absence of alternative lasting arrangements between the South and the North." (2065th meeting, p. 4-5)

But the Armistice Agreement was not signed between the North and the South. It was signed on 27 July 1953 by the United States representative designated as the Commander-in-Chief of the United Nations Forces, on the one hand, and the Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army and the Commander of the Chinese People's Volunteers, on the other. By the end of 1958, the Chinese People's Volunteers had completely withdrawn from Korea and the only signatories to the Agreement remaining are the United States and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. They are the only real parties that should conclude an agreement to replace an armistice by permanent peace.

So, one may ask: Why inject the South Korean régime into the question? We know that the South Korean régime had rejected the Armistice Agreement and refused to sign it. Has that régime been suddenly transformed into a peace-loving and democratic régime so that it can enter into a peace agreement? Is it the repressive emergency law that it rules by and which characterizes it as one of the most repressive régimes in Asia? Is it its persecution of workers, students, religious and intellectual figures and its infamous torture chambers of the Central Intelligence Agency? Is it its hysterical war cries and its pathological anti-communism? Or is it its complete subservience to foreign occupation and its total dependence for power upon it?

The third important provision of our resolution deals with

steps to achieve the peace and reunification of Korea. The task of the reunification of Korea is the aim of all the Korean people. It can be carried out only by the Korean people themselves, without the presence of any foreign forces and outside interference in their country. It is a task worthy of the support of all peace-loving peoples of the world. The path to that goal has been brilliantly chartered by President Kim Il Sung, in his address to the people of Korea of 9 October 1975. In that statement he said:

**"Concrete measures are needed to remove the state of military confrontation between the north and the south following the conclusion of a Democratic People's Republic of Korea-U.S. peace agreement and the withdrawal of U.S. troops from south Korea.**

**"Before anything else, the armed forces of north and south should be cut drastically. We maintain that the military strength of north and south be reduced to 100,000 or less each. At the same time, the north and the south should stop arms race and military reinforcement and discontinue the introduction of weapons and war equipment from outside. We must thus create real conditions for maintaining and consolidating peace in our country and for its independent, peaceful reunification.**

**"In order to reunify the country independently and peacefully, a national united front should be formed for the whole country on the principle of great national unity.**

**"Reunifying the country is an undertaking for the good of the whole nation, and a national task feasible only when the whole nation unites efforts and struggles for it in firm unity. The formation of a broad national united front for the whole country on the principle of great national unity is a major guarantee for the country's independent, peaceful reunification."**

My delegation believe that the path chartered in that statement is worthy of the support of the United Nations.



## MULILO

### Zambia

Few countries have had as long and as continuous a national history within the same perimeters as Korea. Indeed, few countries have held such a strategically vital geographical relationship to the major regional fronts of political power and cultural influence as has Korea. The history of Korea is a study of foreign influence and pressure of threats and invasions. Today, to this history has been added another diabolical dimension — that of a divided Korean nation, a nation whose continuation for centuries is a testimony to the resilience and cultural strength of its people.

The Korean question has engaged international attention since the division of Korea was mapped out by the United States in 1945. The same question has been a subject of emotional and virulent debate at the United Nations and elsewhere since the Armistice Agreement was signed on 27 July 1953, by the Supreme Commander of Korean People's Army and the Commander of the Chinese People's Volunteers, on the one hand, and the Commander of the United States Army under the name of the "Commander-In-Chief" of the "United Nations forces" in Korea, on the other.

Even after so many years of emotional and virulent debate, the Korean question still features on the agenda. It is with us not because the problem has defied solutions, but because attempted simplistic solutions have failed to render permanent solutions to the complex Korean question. Complex problems do not lend themselves to easy and simplistic solutions.

However, my delegation is gratified to note that the problem on the Korean peninsula is well defined in the two sub-items of item 119 of our agenda, namely, (a) Creation of favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, and (b) Urgent need to

implement fully the consensus of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly on the Korean question and to maintain peace and security on the Korean peninsula.

Whereas the problem of Korea is well defined as stipulated above, the solution of that complex problem, in the light of the fact that simplistic solutions to complex problems are no longer possible, if indeed they ever were, is faithfully reflected in the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709, to which my delegation has appended its name as a sponsor. This draft resolution is an embodiment of collective wisdom on the part of all the countries that support it to bring about peace and security in Korea and, therefore, to put an end to this perennial problem.

My delegation listened attentively to the statements made by the Deputy Foreign Minister of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea. Although deep fears, suspicions and antagonisms could be discerned from both statements vis-à-vis each other, my delegation was gratified to discern positive trends that underlie the Korean question in the eyes of the two Koreas.

The most obvious trend in both Koreas is that of rising nationalism and the concomitant forces which it brings into play. After emerging from a series of successive cocoons of foreign domination which have at the same time induced and stifled nationalism, both régimes have realized an increasing sense of striving for common identity which has found many Koreans responsive. There is, therefore, a new Korea whose nationalism has been manifested in increased interest in the Korean language, culture and religion.

The second major trend discernible in both Koreas is that of enhanced sentiment towards reunification. In this connexion, my delegation also noted that each party has, since the signing of the North-South Joint Communiqué in 1972, worked towards the goal of reunification, and that each is opposed to the imposed division of its motherland.

In the light of the discerned characteristics, it would be a banal exercise in futility to advance the view, as other representatives have done, that the two Koreas — North and South — should seek admission into the United Nations system as separate entities. The people of North and South Korea are homogeneous. They have the same historical and cultural experience. They both aspire to reunification, independence and great national unity. The General Assembly should strive to rectify that mistake by adopting the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709 of 24 September 1975 as the only positive and

potent alternative to Korea's long history of unresolved problems.

It is a sad revelation that 30 years of the United States presence in South Korea as a divider of the Korean people has not yielded any positive results towards the creation of durable peace in that part of the Far East. On the contrary, the United States side has been responsible for wanton violations of the Armistice Agreement, signed in 1953 as a truce, to give the parties to it time in the intervening period to look for lasting peace in Korea. In other words, the United States side has proved to be the main obstacle to lasting peace in Korea.

Durable peace could have come to Korea already had it not been for the United States, which continues to ignore with impunity the popular demand that it withdraw from South Korea its forces under the flag of the United Nations Command. The United States military assistance to South Korea serves to exacerbate tension and prolongs the armistice which, in turn, engenders mistrust and misunderstanding between North and South Korea.

The United States should therefore commit itself to a programme for the dissolution of the "United Nations Command" and the withdrawal of its troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations as a major prerequisite in the quest to solve the Korean problem. We believe that it is only in the absence of the 22-year-old Armistice Agreement and the subsequent total withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea that propitious conditions for dialogue between North and South Korea could proceed without duress on either side. The withdrawal of all the United States troops from South Korea would be a positive gesture and a testimony of that country's commitment to a programme of creating areas of peace and understanding under the banner of détente which that country has been associated with in recent years. Failure to extend the spirit of détente to Korea by the United States as a way of healing Korea's political ailments serves to create a credibility gap between public pronouncements on détente, on the one hand, and what obtains in practice, on the other. In other words, it shows that détente is applied on a discriminatory basis by the super-Power in question.

My delegation finds it absurd and difficult to reconcile all this with the fact that it was on the initiative of the United States that rapprochement was achieved between the People's Republic of China and the United States. It was also under the aegis of the United States that the relaxation of the cold-



war tension between the two super-Powers was effected in the name of détente. We find it strange that a country which professes this noble programme should at the same time maintain the legacy of the Second World War in Korea by impeding progress towards a peace agreement between the two Koreas which would pave the way for reunification, independence and great national unity, which would also be in conformity with the requirements of the Armistice Agreement itself.

We therefore reject the view of the United States that requires that the United States troops in South Korea should stay under the United States-Republic of Korea Mutual Defence Treaty of August 1954 even if the "United Nations Command" is dissolved. This is a calculated and tacit manoeuvre to maintain a diabolical presence in a country that is sick of that imposed presence and division. Besides, it was a violation of the Armistice Agreement, which envisaged the discussion of the question of the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea within three months after the Armistice Agreement was signed.

My delegation is of the view that continued patronage of Korea by the United States under its proclamation of the so-called frontline defence area is a desperate manoeuvre to maintain a sphere of influence in that part of the world after suffering a humiliating defeat in Indo-China. Continued occupation of South Korea by the super-Power will also perpetuate the division of Korea into North and South under different régimes. Such occupation is nothing but a way of meddling in the internal affairs of Korea, and the fate of such occupation can be nothing but humiliating defeat, as already experienced in Indo-China.

At this stage my delegation wishes to reiterate its support for North Korea, a country we have supported unequivocally on the grounds of the three principles of peaceful reunification, independence and great national unity, buttressed by the five-point proposal for national reunification advanced by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. We support the three principles and the five-point proposal because they are within the spirit of the North-South Joint Communiqué signed in 1972, which forms a practical contribution to ensuring peace in the country, dispelling misunderstanding and distrust, and deepening mutual understanding and trust between the two Koreas.

We also support North Korea's calls for a reduction of the armed forces in North and South Korea to an equal level after



the dissolution of the "United Nations Command" and the withdrawal of the United States troops from South Korea as a guarantee of the implementation of the provisions of the five-point proposal. We believe that the drastic reduction of the armaments of the two sides to an equal level would eliminate the danger of armed conflicts between North and South Korea. The reduction would also fulfil another important function. For South Korea, it would dispel its factitious fears of military conquest by North Korea. South Korea could therefore address itself to the three principles of reunification, independence and great national unity in earnest. By the same token, the withdrawal of the United States troops from South Korea would enable North Korea to engage in collaboration with South Korea without duress.

In this connexion, my delegation recalls with grave concern the statement made by the Ambassador of the United States to the United Nations, Mr. Daniel P. Moynihan, when he referred to the "other" draft resolution — that is, the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709, which we support — on Thursday, 23 October 1975, in this Committee. In his statement the Ambassador said something to the effect that the United States troops which are stationed in South Korea under the United States-Republic of Korea Mutual Defence Treaty of 1954 are not under the United Nations flag and are not a matter of United Nations business, except those fewer than 300 personnel in the United Nations Command. This, in my delegation's view, is appalling audacity on the part of the United States, for it draws a distinction between what is and what is not a matter of the United Nations business on the question of foreign troops in South Korea.

We find it absurd that the United States does not think that its troops, which for more than 20 years have been masquerading as United Nations forces under the United Nations flag, should today be a matter of the United Nations business. Such pronouncements serve to underline the undercurrents of apprehension on the part of the United States, because the draft resolution referred to in the statement, that is, the one in document A/C.1/L.709, calls for the withdrawal of all foreign troops, which includes the United States troops there under the Mutual Defence Treaty of 1954 signed by the United States and South Korea. Such a statement also brings into question the competence of the United Nations to deal with the Korean question in terms of foreign troops that have been maintained in Korea under its good name.

Therefore my delegation is of the view that the Korean

question can never be settled by rigid attitudes as reflected in the United States statement. The statement is a travesty of the principles of reunification, independence and great national unity. North and South Korea cannot work towards a durable peace because reunification and the five-point proposal cannot be implemented if the foreign troops are not the business of the United Nations — even though the United Nations has been discussing the question, with a view to complete withdrawal of all such foreign troops, for the past 22 years.

Finally, my delegation urges all the members of this Committee to join in the collective wisdom as reflected in the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709, which embodies a significant contribution to the creation of the necessary conditions for the people of Korea, north and south of the 38th parallel, to attain peace through the reunification and rehabilitation of their country. Reunification and rehabilitation would in turn make a major contribution to the restoration of international peace and security in the Far East.



## CHALE

### United Republic of Tanzania

I trust, Sir, that although I may be violating the rules of procedure and our Chairman's admonition I may, on speaking for the first time in the Committee, at least associate myself with the expressions of confidence and satisfaction at seeing Mr. Ghorra occupying the respected post of Chairman of the most important Committee of the United Nations General Assembly. On behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf I wish to offer to him and to all the other officers of the Committee hearty congratulations and best wishes for the successful discharge of their responsibilities. If I may say so, our Chairman has behaved in such a way that he has conducted the meetings, as the Romans would say, *suaviter in modo, sed fortiter in re* — firmly but pleasantly. I express my appreciation to him.

Likewise I hope the Committee will bear with me when I extend the warm welcome of my delegation to our new colleagues whose countries we have this year had the pleasure of welcoming to the United Nations: the Republic of Cape Verde, the People's Republic of Mozambique, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe and Papua New Guinea. At the same time I cannot fail to welcome back the delegation of the victorious Cambodians, whose decisive rejection of foreign servitude has not only remedied the usurpation of their lawful seat in the United Nations but also strengthened the courage of all nations and peoples fighting against the forces of foreign domination and other forms of international injustice.

If the victory over Nazi Germany and Japanese imperialism was welcomed and hailed by the world community, that was because it promised to restore justice to all nations and peoples in the world. The expulsion of Japan from Korea was therefore welcomed not merely as a rejection of Japanese domination, but as the rejection of any form or manifestation of foreign domination. That spirit is borne out by the Charter, which embodies

the declared intentions of the signatories to it. The Charter spells out in very direct and clear terms the rejection by the signatories of any form of interference by one State against the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of another. It also upholds unconditionally the rights of all peoples to self-determination. In the case of the Korean situation, the undertaking to preserve Korea's territorial integrity and national unity and to respect its independence and sovereignty was specifically declared even before the Charter was being worked out. Indeed, one of the deep wounds left by the Second World War which occupied the minds of the founders of the United Nations and demanded immediate redress was the Korean question.

It is therefore a sad paradox that, contrary to the hopes created and promises made through and outside the Charter, not only is Korea still subjected to foreign interference and threats of permanent dismemberment 30 years after the Charter came into force, but also the very Power which defeated Japanese imperialism and undertook to guarantee the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of Korea is now responsible for interference in the internal affairs of the country.

The Korean problem shows clearly that although the Charter condemned and made illegal colonialism and imperialism, that policy was not given up by some of the signatories. If anything, the Charter was only a clarion call for a fierce struggle to liquidate that evil. The Korean problem is therefore one of the fronts in the anti-imperialist struggle and the struggle for the liberation of man.

The so-called 38th Parallel is an arbitrary line imposed by external forces upon a country which is otherwise one nation, with one people. The Northern Koreans and Southern Koreans are kith and kin forcibly rent from one another without any legal or moral justification. Furthermore, the division of Korea into two parts is manifestly contrary to the wishes of the Korean people. And if any one doubted the desire of the Korean people for their national unity the 1972 Joint Communiqué is conclusive evidence of that desire.

If the purpose of drawing the 38th Parallel across Korea was to receive the so-called instruments of surrender from defeated Japan it is equally acknowledged that this was supposed to be the sole purpose. Soon after the departure of Japan, Korea was to be left alone in its entirety to determine its own future. There was no justification, and there can be none, for the per-

petuation of the presence of that line, let alone for any of the victors to remain in that country.

However, things have not turned out that way. Instead, one of the victorious Powers decided to pose the greatest obstacle to the realization of the Korean people's desire for reunification: Not prepared to part with its control of the southern part of Korea, and in the face of growing world protests, both within and without the United Nations, the United States has had to devise one reason after another for rationalizing its continued stay in Korea. Thus, first, it was to receive the so-called instruments of surrender. Then it was that the United Nations had sent it there. Now that the United Nations is increasingly questioning the propriety of allowing its Command to be abused by the United States purely for its own interests, the United States has produced yet another reason. This time a great farce is being created out of the so-called threat from the North and the responsibility of the United States to defend the régime in Seoul. Of course, like the previous hollow pretexts for justifying continued foreign interference in the affairs of the Koreans, this latest allegation is no less absurd.

What is even more deplorable is that in addition to maintaining its military presence in South Korea on flimsy grounds, a new dimension has been added to the escalation of tension in the Korean peninsula. I refer here to the introduction by the United States of nuclear weapons into the area, and the threats made to deploy those weapons against the Korean people, who, as we know perfectly well, have no nuclear weapons. Besides the threat to international peace and security inherent in the introduction of and threat to use such ghastly weapons, one wonders, in the circumstances, how credible is the United States defence and advocacy of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. And all this is done in defence of the "liberal democracy" that we are told the Seoul régime is.

When everything is taken into account, we consider the proposals made in the 1972 Joint Communiqué and the five-point programme of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as being most pertinent in the resolution of the Korean problem. In this regard, it is relevant to recall the provisions of the Joint Communiqué. These are:

(a) The reunification of Korea should be achieved independently, without reliance upon outside force or interference;

(b) The reunification of the country should be achieved by peaceful means, without recourse to the use of force of arms against the other side;

(c) The greater national unity should be promoted;

It is in this same spirit that the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has further proposed:

First, the elimination of military confrontation and the easing of tension between the North and the South;

Secondly, the realization of multilateral collaboration and intercourse between the North and the South;

Thirdly, the convening of a great national congress composed of representatives of people from all walks of life, political parties and social organizations in the North and the South;

Fourthly, the institution of a North-South Confederation under the single name of the "Confederal Republic of Koryo"; and

Fifthly, the entry into the United Nations of the two Koreas as a single State under the name of the Confederal Republic of Koryo.

These proposals for the solution of the Korean question not only prove the genuine desire of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for peaceful national reunification but also dispel beyond any doubt all the alleged fears of so-called invasion from the North. In fact, President Kim Il Sung has even given his public undertaking not to use force against the South. This position of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has been hailed by many peace-loving States. The Lima Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned States, for example, also reaffirmed its support for the policy of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea as advocated by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, under the enlightened and wise leadership of its respected President Kim Il Sung, is therefore to be complimented for its untiring efforts and its genuine desire for the national unity of the Korean people. The patriotism of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has won the admiration of all peace-loving nations in the world. It is manifested not only in the way it deals with the reunification problem but also in the successful efforts, by self-reliance, to build a just and prosperous economic and social system in the North. In contrast with the exploited southern part, North Korea is booming with agricultural and healthy industrial activities. There is enviable economic and social justice, which is inevitably reflected in the friendly and co-operative spirit demonstrated in its international relations.

I wish, therefore, at this juncture to welcome the Democratic People's Republic of Korea delegation, headed by His Excellency Li Jong Mok, the Deputy Foreign Minister of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, whose participation in the debate on the Korean question has certainly enriched our Committee's understanding of the situation.

Bearing in mind the guidelines provided by the North-South Joint Communiqué and the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, some 42 States — of which Tanzania has the honour to be one — have submitted at this session the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709. This draft resolution touches on the central issues of the problem and provides a practical, reasonable and just solution to it.

Operative paragraph 1 seeks to dissolve the United Nations Command and to remove all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations. If implemented, this paragraph will not only divest the United States of its cover-up in Korea but will also rectify a contradiction which makes the United Nations appear to condone the unlawful activities of the United States in Korea and restore the honour of the Organization with regard to that peninsula. The United Nations will also, for its part, implement the first point of the North-South Joint Communiqué, which calls for the independent reunification of Korea without reliance upon outside force or interference.

Operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution calls upon the real parties to the Armistice Agreement to replace the Korean Military Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement as a measure to ease tension and maintain and consolidate peace in Korea in the context of the dissolution of the United Nations Command and the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations.

It is admitted by both sides to the issue that the United Nations Command is part and parcel of the Armistice Agreement. Indeed, one therefore fails to see how the Armistice Agreement could survive after the dissolution of the United Nations Command. The annulment of the Armistice Agreement, therefore, is only a logical consequence of the dissolution of the United Nations Command. Furthermore, as an extension of the anticipated logical evolution of the situation, the draft resolution simultaneously proposes the conclusion of a peace agreement between the real parties to replace the Armistice Agreement. The so-called Armistice Agreement reached in 1953 must, like any armistice agreement, come to an end, for the idea of

an armistice is to provide some quiet to enable the conclusion of a lasting peace agreement. To seek to perpetuate an armistice, especially after 20 years of its existence, is tantamount to advocating the perpetuation of a state of tension, if not of war. In any case, it is common knowledge that the subsequent conduct of the United States has rendered the Armistice Agreement a mere piece of paper.

The parties to the Armistice Agreement are the United States on one side, and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Chinese People's Volunteers, on the other side. The Seoul régime is neither a party to it nor its sympathizer. The Seoul régime has always rejected it and continues to reject it. To inject the participation of that régime into the proposed negotiations for talks on the Armistice Agreement, therefore, is to introduce a totally foreign element into the transaction.

Operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution urges the North and the South of Korea to observe the principles of the North-South Joint Statement and to take practical measures for ceasing arms reinforcement, reducing the armed forces of both sides drastically to an equal level, preventing armed conflicts and guaranteeing against the use of force against the other side, and thereby removing the military confrontation and maintaining a durable peace in Korea, conducive to accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

The North-South Joint Statement has been hailed by everyone in the United Nations. Indeed, the United Nations has given its unequivocal support by the consensus and decision it adopted in 1973 and 1974 respectively. This is therefore a paragraph which seeks to implement that Joint Statement and no one can oppose or tamper with it without exposing himself as being insincere.

With regard to the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1, whose main proposal is to revive the Armistice Agreement as a pre-condition to the dissolution of the United Nations Command, we can only say that although couched and veiled in a language which on the face of it has the reunification of Korea as its goal, one cannot fail to see at the same time that it is in fact aimed at maintaining the United Nations Command in South Korea as perpetuating the state of tension in Korea. The proposal is deliberately made even more unworkable by introducing the participation of the Seoul régime in discussions about an agreement with which it has nothing to do. As such, it violates the stipulations and spirit of the North-South Joint Communiqué and only serves to frustrate the ef-



forts of reunification. We consider this draft resolution as a very negative proposal since it only helps United States designs in Korea contrary to the interests of the Korean people.

We trust that this year, as the United Nations celebrates its thirtieth anniversary and re-examines not only its achievements but also its mistakes, the members will overwhelmingly reject such manipulations and side with the forces of justice. This is a great opportunity for the United Nations to rectify its mistakes in Korea and to restore justice to the Korean people. We trust, therefore, that the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709 will receive the overwhelming support of the General Assembly. At the same time, we call upon all delegations which are genuinely interested in the peaceful reunification of Korea, in the removal of yet another hotbed of tension, decisively to reject the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1.



## HUSSEIN

### Somalia

As this is my first intervention in the work of this Committee I should like, in the name of my delegation, to take this opportunity to express my warm congratulations to the Chairman on his election as Chairman of this important Committee. I am particularly pleased to extend my profound appreciation to him not only because of my knowledge of his personal qualities, but also because of the close political and cultural ties that bind our two sister countries — Lebanon and Somalia — both members of the League of Arab States. I am confident that, under his able and wise chairmanship, our proceedings will be crowned with success.

My delegation would also like to avail itself of this opportunity to welcome to the United Nations the sister State of Papua New Guinea. Somalia and Papua New Guinea have gone through a similar decolonization process and shared a common experience under the United Nations Trusteeship System leading to independence. We look forward to establishing close relations with this new State both inside and outside the Organization.

My delegation's intervention on this important item regarding the Korean question has, for us, special significance on two main grounds. First, the Koreans, like the Somali people, have suffered foreign domination and partition of their territory, and are now engaged in securing the peaceful unification of their divided territory. Secondly, we support the cause of the Korean people as a matter of principle, since it constitutes an integral part of the common struggle of oppressed people against imperialism and alien domination, which are a major threat to international peace and security.

In our statement to this very Committee last year on the Korean question, we expressed our profound appreciation of the

significant steps taken towards the peaceful reunification of the Korean nation, but we also stressed that further progress should be encouraged so as to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

The position of my Government on the question of Korea has always been firm, consistent and unequivocal. We have, on numerous occasions in the United Nations and in other international forums, called for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korean soil, and for the peaceful reunification of the Korean people without outside pressure or interference. In his statement to the current session of the General Assembly, the Foreign Minister of Somalia, Jaalle Omer Arteh Ghalib, had the following to say on the Korean question:

“In this connexion, it is also pertinent to pledge our unqualified support to the people of Korea in their desire to attain peaceful reunification of their fatherland. We strongly believe that it is high time that this august Assembly gave practical expression to the joint statement of South and North Korea of 4 July 1972, which, among other things, provided for the elimination of external forces and the attainment of the goal of national unity by the Korean people. It is within this spirit that we reaffirm the need to promote the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, so that the heroic people of that divided country can take their rightful place in the family of nations.” (A/PV.2376, p. 4)

It seems to us that the most important element in the Korean question is the common longing and desire of a people for reunification after a quarter of a century of artificial separation — a separation brought about against their will by outside interference. The Head of State of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Kim Il Sung, has on numerous occasions made public statements emphasizing the independent, peaceful reunification of the Korean nation.

Let me firmly state, at the outset, that my delegation supports the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709 because its aims are, first, to establish a permanent settlement in place of the unsettled and unstable situation that has continued for 22 years under the Armistice Agreement; and second, to foster progress towards reunification of the Korean nation.

My delegation regrets that it cannot support the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1, with or without the proposed amendments, because it places its main emphasis on the

maintenance of the Armistice Agreement and because some of its implications do not seem to be conducive to facilitating the attainment of the Korean people's goal of reunification.

In considering the Korean question objectively today, it is necessary to place it in its proper historical perspective. Few would now question the decision adopted in 1950, under which the world Organization created a mechanism for big-Power military involvement in Korea, when its proper role should have been one of mediation and conciliation. This military involvement has grown more and more untenable with the passing of time. The Korean conflict was essentially a product of the cold war. With the emergence of the new climate of détente among the major Powers, which had its culmination in the Helsinki Agreement, it has now become glaringly apparent that the continued presence of the United Nations Command in South Korea is based on premises that have always been shaky, and that today it is not only outmoded but continues to pose a major threat to international peace and security. While there is now universal agreement that the United Nations Command should be dissolved, this Committee is faced with wide differences over how this should be done and what arrangements should follow — differences which are reflected in the two fundamentally divergent draft resolutions before us.

In supporting draft resolution A/C.1/L.709, my delegation takes note of the fact that it calls not only for the dissolution of the United Nations Command, but also for the withdrawal of all foreign troops under the flag of the United Nations. The reason for this emphasis is clearly to guard against the danger of acting to change the form but not the substance of the Korean question. In his statement before this Committee on 23 October 1975, the representative of the United States attempted to draw a distinction between the United Nations forces in South Korea — which, he stated, number not more than 300 personnel — and the reportedly 40,000 American troops stationed there under the Mutual Defence Treaty between the United States and the Government of South Korea. However, experience has shown that whenever it found it convenient to do so, the United States has taken the position that its strong military presence in South Korea is there in the name and under the auspices of the United Nations. This ambiguous policy seems aimed, on the one hand, at placating world public opinion, which strongly supports the dissolution of the United Nations Command, and, on the other hand, at ensuring the maintenance of the *status quo*.

But the United States should realize that it can hardly have it both ways. The recent letter of the American Government to the Security Council stating its willingness to terminate the United Nations Command implied correctly that the Command and the American force in South Korea are one and the same thing, and hence inseparable. All the other countries which originally contributed to the Command have withdrawn their troops, and the subsequent dissolution of the Command would necessarily culminate in the termination of American military involvement in the area.

It was hoped that the United States would follow the example of the People's Republic of China, which voluntarily withdrew its forces from the North in accordance with the provisions of the Armistice Agreement. The draft resolution supported by my delegation seeks the continuation of this peaceful and legal process when it calls for the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag.

On the other hand, the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1 is ambiguous on this point and leaves the way open for foreign troops to remain in strength in South Korea. My delegation believes that here we have the crux of the matter. In the view of my delegation, the presence of foreign troops in the South is a major impediment to the process of efforts already initiated towards the goal of peaceful reunification. In addition, the intensive military build-up in South Korea is dangerous, in terms not only of regional but also of international peace and security.

Besides addressing itself to the essential problem of the foreign troops in South Korea, the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709 also seeks progress from the present state of "no peace, no war", fixed by the Armistice Agreement, to a definitive settlement which would ensure a durable peace and security in Korea. My delegation strongly supports the call for the replacement of the armistice by a peace agreement. The armistice is, of course, only a cease-fire whose continued existence makes a state of tension and instability inevitable. After more than two decades of this unsettled situation it is more than ever necessary for the United Nations to redouble its efforts towards the attainment of a permanent settlement. The draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1, on the other hand, emphasizes the maintenance of the Armistice Agreement, and by insisting that dissolution of the United Nations Command be conditional on new armistice arrangements it actively

promotes the continuation of the existing division of the Korean nation.

With regard to the question of converting the Armistice Agreement into a peace agreement, my delegation supports the constructive proposals put forward by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the conclusion of a peace treaty between itself and the United States, which are the remaining parties to the Armistice Agreement. Obviously, no progress can ever be made towards the solution of the Korean problem unless there is a willingness to accept reasonable proposals made in good faith. The proposals put forward by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which include pledges of mutual non-aggression and the mutual reduction of armed forces, are both sound and practical.

In this connexion my delegation fully supports the five-point proposition for national reunification submitted by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea which lays down the following basic guidelines:

"1) To eliminate military confrontation and ease tension between the North and the South;

"2) To realize multilateral collaboration and intercourse between the North and the South;

"3) To convene a great national congress composed of the representatives of people from all walks of life, political parties and social organizations in the North and the South;

"4) To institute a North-South confederation under the single name of the 'Confederal Republic of Koryo'; and

"5) To enter the United Nations as a single State under the name of the Confederal Republic of Koryo."

My delegation is fully confident that this five-point plan, if implemented in good faith, can serve as a great landmark in accomplishing the cause of Korea's peaceful reunification in accordance with the principles of the North-South Joint Communiqué and with the interests and aspirations of the Korean people as a whole.

If the invitation to explore this avenue to peace is rejected, it will then be difficult to avoid the inescapable conclusion that the hopes and aspirations of the Korean people are to be disregarded for the sake of national interests which run counter to international law and the fundamental principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of another State explicitly stipulated in the Charter.

My delegation has studied the legal issue raised by the different interpretations of the phrase "the real parties" to the Armistice Agreement. United Nations document S/3079, in which the Armistice Agreement is reproduced, shows clearly that the South Korean Government was not a party to that Armistice Agreement. We must therefore support the legally correct position of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that only its Government and the United States remain as the "real parties" to the Agreement. It is a generally accepted juridical principle that the rights and obligations of an agreement are enforceable vis-à-vis the signatory parties alone, and not with respect to any third party.

Of course, it is only common sense that additional substantive arrangements for peace must be concluded between North and South Korea. As we know, the basis for such arrangements already exists in the Joint Communiqué of July 1972, in which the North and South agreed on the principles which must be followed to bring about an end to their differences, to reduce tensions and to establish reunification. Those principles of independence, great national unity and peaceful reunification without outside force or interference, gained universal support in the consensus of the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session.

My delegation urges both North Korea and South Korea to continue the dialogue which began in 1972. We believe that the development of mutual confidence and trust is an imperative prerequisite for the achievement of the goals of the Joint Communiqué. For their part, Members of the United Nations must recognize that policies such as the perpetuation of the Armistice, support for the creation of two Koreas and the continued presence of foreign troops in South Korea, either with or without the United Nations flag, are diametrically opposed to the aspirations of the Korean people whose fundamental cherished goal is independent and peaceful reunification. In particular, great national unity cannot be promoted when a Power hostile to the North maintains its military presence in the South, and provides the South with the most lethal weapons of aggression, including nuclear weapons. The maintenance of foreign forces in South Korea also negates the principle of peaceful reunification "without outside interference".

It has been contended that the liquidation of foreign troops in South Korea would expose the people of that part of the country to a threat of aggression by the Government and people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. This argu-

ment seems to be unjustified and untenable on three principal grounds. First, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has internationally committed itself to seek reunification of Korea through peaceful means. Secondly, to the best of my knowledge, no foreign troops are stationed in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea which would pose a threat to regional peace and security. Thirdly, in terms of population it is reported that two thirds of the people are in the South while the remaining one third is in the North. One therefore finds it difficult to understand the undue fears and apprehensions of South Korea, which is numerically much superior to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Twenty-five years ago the Member States of the United Nations sanctioned interference in the internal affairs of a small country because of the coldwar ideology of a big Power. That action prepared the way for similar interventions in Viet-Nam and Cambodia. The Korean situation today shows ominous parallels with the recent tragedies of bloody wars in South-East Asia. We can see the same policy of manipulating the people of small countries for the sake of the strategic and ideological interests of a big Power. We can also see the same policy of arming one régime of a divided country to the teeth while accusing the other side of aggression. It seems unfortunate that the lessons of Viet-Nam, of Cambodia and of Laos have not been learnt. It is still not recognized in some quarters that the spirit of a people who are determined to achieve self-determination and freedom from foreign domination will inevitably triumph in the end. There is also a failure to recognize that to be a pawn in the big-Power game often has the most dangerous and tragic consequences for the integrity and security of a nation. In another context in the course of this debate, the words were quoted: "those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it". It is the duty of all concerned to ensure that this danger is removed.

In conclusion, I wish to express the hope that the majority of Member States will support the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709, which would enable the United Nations to carry out its responsibilities towards the Korean people in an objective and constructive manner. Of greater importance is the fact that it supports the Korean people, both North and South, in their hopes for a durable peace and national reunification.





## TCHERNOUCHTENKO

**Byelorussian Soviet  
Socialist Republic**

The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR is profoundly convinced that the discussion of the Korean problem at the present session of the General Assembly has been a very special one. First and foremost, we must refer to the breadth of the discussion which has been going on in the Political Committee, the desire which has been evinced by a majority of representatives to effect a genuinely just solution to the Korean problem on the basis of an independent, peaceful reunification of Korea; the profound validity also of the thesis which has been repeatedly emphasized in the course of discussion that the main obstacle standing in the way to the realization of this national aspiration of the Korean people and the consolidation of peace in that area is the presence in South Korea of foreign troops under the flag of the United Nations.

At the same time it should also be pointed out — and this is a determining factor — that the consideration of the Korean question at the present session of the General Assembly is occurring in more favourable international circumstances than has ever been true before. A considerable degree of détente has been secured in international relations, and its beneficial effect is beginning to be felt by an ever increasing number of States, both large and small, both developed and developing, States which are located in different geographical regions of the world.

Of paramount significance in any improvement of the situation in Asia was the victory of the peoples of Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia. Despite the resistance of the foes of détente, there is growing and strengthening co-operation between States on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence regardless of their social structure.

After the successful completion of the Conference on Secu-

ity and Co-operation in Europe the idea has been steadily gaining ground of bringing about durable security in Asia through the joint efforts of all countries belonging to that region. There has been a notable improvement in the prospects for solving a number of international problems within the United Nations as well, including those items which appear on the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly. As you know, the socialist States, including the Byelorussian SSR, together with a large group of non-aligned countries, have submitted for the consideration of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations an item entitled "Creation of favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea". The submission of this item and the draft resolution related to it is aimed at ensuring that the General Assembly, as early as the present session, should adopt a decision aimed at putting an end once and for all to outside interference in the affairs of the Korean people and to create favourable conditions for converting the armistice in Korea into a durable peace and ensuring the realization of the national aspiration of the Korean people for an independent, democratic and peaceful reunification of Korea.

Our delegation would like to express its gratification at the fact that the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea headed by the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Comrade Li Jong Mok, is participating in the consideration of the Korean question at the thirtieth session of the General Assembly.

The statements we have heard from the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have been very impressive. They have given a clearcut account of the programme of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, aimed at effecting a just solution to the Korean question in the interests of the entire Korean people in a desire to consolidate peace and security in that region.

On the thirtieth anniversary of the liberation of Korea as a result of the downfall of Japanese militarism, our delegation is particularly pleased to refer to what has been achieved by the workers of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the process of socialist construction. The Byelorussian workers, together with other peoples of the Soviet Union, widely observed this noteworthy date in the history of the Korean people. Over a short period of time the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has turned into a socialist State with a developed in-

dustry, agriculture and a flourishing national culture. Those successes and achievements by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are well known far beyond its own boundaries, and its active and peace-loving foreign policy has met with profound understanding and support on the part of the socialist countries and also the non-aligned States who made this point in the Declaration which was adopted at the end of August in Lima.

A major influence on the discussion of the Korean question in the United Nations has been exerted by the consistent and constructive position adopted by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea regarding the question of the peaceful and democratic reunification of the fatherland, independently, without any outside interference, and also other proposals which are receiving ever-growing support among Member States of the United Nations. Here in the United Nations we have witnessed important initiatives taken by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and personally by Comrade Kim Il Sung, on the entire range of issues connected with the democratic and peaceful solution of the Korean question.

In the statement made by Comrade Kim Il Sung in Pyongyang on 9 October 1975 at the solemn meeting called to mark the thirtieth anniversary of the Workers' Party of Korea, the ways and means of achieving national unity were referred to. He stated:

**"We are ready to hold negotiations at any time with all political parties including the Democratic Republican Party, social organizations and individual personages in south Korea on the reunification question, and to unite and collaborate with them in the cause of national reunification...."**

**"The institution of a north-south Confederation is the most reasonable way to achieve national union and hasten the independent, peaceful reunification of the country."**

It is well known to all that the Korean question in the United Nations has already been discussed for 28 years now and essentially is part of that rubble left over after the period of the cold war which still has to be cleared away. During that period a number of events have occurred on Korean soil. There have been many discussions within the United Nations during those years and also at other international forums. Now it is no longer only the socialist States which from the very outset of the discussion of the Korean question in the United Nations

have consistently defended the interests of the Korean people in this Organization; but now other States have embarked upon the same course. Now an impressive number of States in the United Nations not only share the position of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, but they have come out in favour of the implementation of the democratic and peace loving principles and proposals which form the foundation of that position.

The main obstacle to the solution of the Korean question and the realization of the national aspirations of the Korean people that Korea be united on the basis of democratic principles and in a peaceful way, is the outside interference in the internal affairs of South Korea and the presence there of foreign armed forces under the United Nations flag. It is precisely in order to solve this cardinal problem in the interests of the entire Korean people that the proposals have been submitted which are to be found in the 42-Power draft resolution on the dissolution of the United Nations Command and the concurrent withdrawal of all foreign — and essentially this means American — troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag, and the replacement of the Armistice Agreement in Korea, which has outlived its usefulness, by a peace agreement between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States as the parties which originally concluded the Armistice. Furthermore the draft resolution contains an appeal to both North and South Korea to observe the principles laid down in their Joint Communiqué and to take practical steps to put an end to military confrontation and to uphold a durable peace in Korea, and to create conditions which will help to accelerate the independent and peaceful unification of the country.

The protagonists of the occupation of South Korea by foreign troops spoke against those proposals during the discussion and asserted that they might allegedly cause a worsening of the situation in Korea, and so on and so forth. At the same time, the statements made by some of those speakers presumptuously distorted the genuine nature of the policy pursued by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. What value, for example, can we attach to the assertions of a mythical threat of aggression from the north at a time when the South Korean army is more than 600,000 strong and, furthermore, is numerically superior to the army of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea? Whereas in South Korea there are 40,000-odd American troops equipped with modern weapons, including nuclear weapons, in the north there have not been any foreign troops for a long time now.

It is also well known that after the conclusion of a peace agreement the Democratic People's Republic of Korea proposes that there be a drastic reduction in the numerical strength of forces in the north and south, reducing them to 100,000, and it also proposes that an end be put to the arms race and the escalation of armed forces, and also that there be a prohibition on the import from abroad of armaments and military equipment. Now, let us take the assertion to the effect that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is allegedly refusing to continue a dialogue with the south and, furthermore, that there is nothing said about this in the 42-Power draft resolution. Is this so? No, it is not. A clear and convincing answer can be found in the statement made here in the Committee by the head of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Comrade Li Jong Mok, and in other official statements made by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

In the arguments which have been adduced by a certain group of countries there is one clear trend, and that is to stop at nothing to justify the retention of the Armistice Agreement and to continue the presence of American troops on South Korean soil. For more than 20 years now, at every session of the General Assembly, United States representatives have stubbornly sought to prove that their troops in South Korea are not in fact American troops, but United Nations troops. However, at the present time it has become difficult to justify the presence of American troops in South Korea under cover of the United Nations flag, and recently attempts have been made to find other excuses. This is something which is precisely typical of what was said by the permanent representative of the United States, Mr. Moynihan, who, knowing full well that not a single soldier has been withdrawn from Korea of the more than 40,000 strong American army which is now present there under the United Nations flag, in fact gave the numerical strength of the troops under the United Nations Command as being 300 persons, at the same time claiming that this was in accordance with the American-South Korean Treaty and that the American troops under that Treaty were not part of the composition of that Command. What was the purpose of this, after we have seen for many years in succession the American representatives trying to prove the opposite, namely, that their troops in Korea are United Nations troops, precisely in order to reduce the whole question of the disbandment of the United Nations Command to a pure formality, a change of signboards, and some-

how to justify the maintenance of American troops in South Korea in the eyes of world public opinion.

We, of course, have constantly maintained that from 1950 until the present day the American troops have been making illegal use of the flag of the United Nations. However, in this situation also we cannot fail to note the transformation that has taken place. For more than 20 years now representatives of the United States have stubbornly sought to prove to all that their troops in South Korea are United Nations troops, but today, if we construe the actual words of the representative of the United States, everything is reversed. It now appears that long ago, in fact starting in 1954, the American troops were not part of the United Nations Command. There is, of course, a small detail: the United States made this revelation quite recently, informing the United Nations Secretariat of it in September of the present year. In this connexion we should like to remind members of the Committee of a few facts.

Let us start by indicating that the Armistice Agreement was signed by the American General Clark as Commander-in-Chief of the United Nations armed forces. Since then, the Commander of the United Nations Force has signed various documents. In February 1954, the representatives of a number of countries, including the representative of the United States, in the name of the so-called joint United Nations Command, signed an agreement on the status of the United Nations Force, in connexion with the question of the legal status of the United Nations Force and its relations with Japan. There is no need to go into any of the details of that agreement, but it remains a fact that such an agreement was signed and it is abundantly clear from it that here we are not talking about any separate units and subdivisions but rather are referring to all the American troops located in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations. That was true in that year, and it was referred to by the American representative. And what did the representative of the United States say in the United Nations, let us say 14 or 15 years later? In his statement in the First Committee at the twenty-third session of the General Assembly, in December 1968, the representative of the United States, Mr. Symington, stated:

“My purpose in recalling these facts is to point up the risks which would be incurred if today the forces of the United Nations Command were withdrawn, UNCURK was dissolved, and the United Nations turned its back on Korea.” (1636th meeting, para. 74)

Symington went on repeatedly to talk of the so-called United Nations forces and the United Nations Command of those forces. That means that in 1968 the American representatives were still seeking to show that in Korea the American troops were under the flag of the United Nations and were in fact acting as United Nations troops. How, then, are we to interpret the statement made by Ambassador Moynihan that, allegedly on the basis of the so-called American-South Korean Mutual Defence Treaty, these troops are not in fact a component of the United Nations Command?

Our delegation would also like to draw attention to the fact that the Americans constantly spoke of their troops as United Nations troops under the joint United Nations Command and as connected with the work of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission that was set up in accordance with the Armistice Agreement. Thus, from the communiqué that was presented to the Commission by the United Nations Command, it is quite obvious that at one time it was stated that the United Nations armed forces under the United Nations Command were 348,000 strong. Then, in the report presented by the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission, it was stated that on 20 October 1975 301,210 men of the United Nations forces were withdrawn from South Korea. If we consider these communications, we can reach only one conclusion, and that is that the 42,000 troops remaining in Korea are part of the United Nations Command.

We should also like to refer to a communication that appeared in the American press in this connexion. The Associated Press Agency in Tokyo stated on 31 July 1972 that at that time about 43,000 United States forces were located in South Korea under the United Nations Command.

Quite recently, on 24 October 1975, that is the day after the representative of the United States, Ambassador Moynihan, had spoken, *The New York Times* stated that 42,000 American troops are now located in South Korea under the United Nations Command.

These are the facts, and they speak for themselves. Nor in this connexion, can we fail to refer to the fact that the so-called Mutual Defence Treaty between the United States and South Korea was concluded in blatant violation of the Armistice Agreement on Korea signed previously. There continues to be violation of the provisions of the Armistice Agreement, which provides for the cessation of the introduction into Korea of reinforcements in the form of fighter planes, armoured cars, weapons and so on. This was referred to by the head of the delega-

tion of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Comrade Li Jong Mok, in his statement yesterday.

The continuing presence of United Nations forces in South Korea cannot be reconciled with the provisions of Article IV of the Armistice Agreement, which recommends to the Governments of the countries concerned on both sides that a political conference be held to consider the questions of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea, the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, and so on.

As members are aware, that political conference has not yet been called. We also know that that is not the fault of the North Koreans. So how can we make head or tail of the position of the American delegation? On the one hand, it has come out in favour of preserving the Armistice Agreement and, on the other, it has not respected some of its most important provisions, referring to the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea.

We are all perfectly well aware that there is no difference between the United Nations Forces in South Korea and United States troops. They are one and the same thing, and the so-called joint Command simultaneously performs the functions of the American Command and the United Nations Command. That is why the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR considers that if the United Nations Command is to be dissolved then the American troops operating there under the United Nations Flag must also of necessity be withdrawn.

The preservation and maintenance in South Korea of foreign troops not only does not, as some have attempted to suggest here, promote a stabilization of the situation on the Korean peninsula, but, on the contrary, it serves as a source of constant tension in that area and acts as a bulwark for those who govern in Seoul and who, contrary to the interests of the Korean people, stubbornly seek to thwart a just and peaceful solution to the Korean problem.

With foreign assistance in South Korea, a tremendous anti-popular military police apparatus has been set up which, by means of terror and violence, cruelly suppresses any demonstrations against the corrupt régime, persecutes the proponents of the unification of the country and flouts the elementary freedoms and democratic rights of the people.

These facts show that neither a relaxation of tension nor a durable peace in Korea can be achieved as long as the present armistice situation continues in Korea, and as long as there are foreign troops still present in South Korea. The maintenance of American troops in South Korea will only lead to a continuation



of the division of the country, thwarting the aspiration of the Korean people to bring about national unification.

The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR considers that the General Assembly must at the present session express its authoritative view against the preservation of this abnormal situation and, by adopting the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709, which has been sponsored by 42 countries, promote the speedy settlement of the Korean problem.

As far as the Western-sponsored draft resolution (A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1) is concerned, it cannot be regarded as in any way responding to the interests of the Korean people, and is aimed essentially at maintaining the present situation on the Korean peninsula and continuing the occupation of South Korea by foreign troops under a different banner, and at preserving the division of the country. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR is resolutely against this draft resolution.

The need for a speedy and just solution to the Korean problem is something which has met with understanding and support among an ever-growing number of States belonging to all continents. In the opinion of the Byelorussian delegation, the time has come to tackle the Korean problem in a realistic manner, and for the United Nations to act in accordance with an attitude dictated by reason and justice. To adopt a positive position on the Korean problem in accordance with the draft resolution submitted by 42 countries, the United States would thereby be fulfilling its duty towards the Korean people and would be making its own weighty contribution to the cause of strengthening peace and security in the Far East, in helping to bring about conditions for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, which undoubtedly in its turn will help to enhance the authority of the United Nations as an international Organization intended to perform the most important task of consolidating universal peace and the security of peoples.



## MOGAMI

Botswana

I wish, first of all, to congratulate Ambassador Ghorra on his election to the chairmanship of this Committee, and to express the sincere wishes of my delegation for a successful completion of our business under his able and energetic leadership. My congratulations extend, likewise, to the other officers of the Committee.

I should like also to preface my remarks by expressing the appreciation of my delegation for the useful information given to us by the leader of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in his earlier statements on this question.

The last two decades — during which, sadly enough, there has been no progress on the question of Korea — have, by contrast, witnessed a significant political change as small nations throughout the world have risen to vindicate their claim to territorial sovereignty and, in keeping with the spirit and principle of self-determination, to reaffirm their right to a re-ordering of their future political direction and social order. For its part, the United Nations has welcomed this development as a step forward in the elimination of tension, and as a contribution to durable peace. I am thus particularly happy today to welcome, on behalf of my delegation, the delegations of Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, Papua New Guinea, and Cape Verde.

It is a sad reflection on the record of our Organization that even 22 years after the end of the war in Korea virtually no progress has been made on a peaceful settlement of the Korean question. The Korean people are still divided, against their will, and this point I can do no more than state emphatically that my country, Botswana, in its position where it is completely surrounded by minority and racist régimes bent on dividing and subjugating the African people, has profound empathy for the aspirations of the Korean people to achieve peaceful reunification of their country, without external interference or manipulation.

My delegation fully endorses the wish of the Korean people for reunification through negotiation which was conveyed in their Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972. My delegation also fully supported the consensus decision adopted by the General Assembly in 1973 encouraging the spirit of conciliation between the two parts of Korea because we believe that the role of the United Nations must be to encourage conciliation and peaceful reunification, rather than to condemn one or the other side. We are, of course, aware that the consensus I have just referred to has not been fully implemented. It is our belief that any dialogue imposed from outside, or any dialogue inspired by extraneous interests which are not in harmony with the wishes of the South and the North of Korea cannot be of any value. Indeed, the imposition of conditions which are not conducive to meaningful dialogue should be considered a hindrance to the peaceful solution of this problem.

My delegation believes that in order for the Korean people to have the freedom to decide their own affairs all foreign forces must be withdrawn from Korea. That is why we call for the dissolution of the United Nations Command and the withdrawal of all other foreign forces from the peninsula. My delegation is of the view that the presence of these forces is not conducive to free and independent negotiations leading to peaceful reunification, as a section of the Korean people not having foreign troops stationed on their side must necessarily negotiate under the shadow of the intervening foreign forces on the other side. In this respect, our concern is the interests of the people of Korea as a whole. My Government maintains good and friendly relations with both segments of the Korean people and has therefore no reason to further the division that already exists between them.

It is also our belief that the Armistice Agreement, which has been in existence for 22 years, should now give way to an arrangement for permanent peace in Korea. Although we are aware of the important role of the Armistice Agreement in bringing about peace in Korea, we are now worried that continuation of that arrangement may unduly prolong the stay of foreign troops in South Korea. It would be unfair, indeed, to expect a people to live indefinitely under a temporary arrangement. The United Nations should now take a bold step to ensure that a road towards permanent peace and reunification of Korea is opened.

It is also the view of my delegation that the fact that both the North and the South of Korea have agreed to forego the use of force in the settlement of their differences and the fact

that there are no foreign troops stationed in the North of Korea are enough factors to dispel the need for the continued stationing of foreign troops in the South. We believe that this would go a long way towards reducing the arms race and tension on the peninsula. Any attempt to maintain and exploit, for extraneous reasons, the continuing tension in Korea, instead of helping to bring that tension to an end by making it possible for the people of Korea to negotiate freely, should not be condoned.

In the light of the foregoing, my delegation supports the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.709. We do not consider it as providing a panacea for the Korean problem, but we believe that it contains what we consider to be the basic requirement for bringing about a peaceful solution to the Korean question: that is, a call for the dissolution of the United Nations Command, the withdrawal of all foreign forces, and the transformation of the Armistice into a peace agreement. It is therefore not possible for us to support the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1, as it does not call for the withdrawal of foreign forces and, contrary to our own view, it seeks to maintain the Armistice Agreement, and, as it were, perpetuate the existing state of military confrontation between North and South Korea.



## BOATEN

### Ghana

Our deliberations in this Committee have two main objectives; namely, to create a durable peace in Korea, and to promote peaceful unification of the two Koreas — a goal which both sides accept. Statements made in this Committee by various delegations indicate that there is no disagreement on these end objectives. If there is any conflict of views, it is on the appropriate steps to take to reach our objective.

My delegation's position on this is guided by what we consider to be an objective appraisal of all the elements constituting the Korean question. My delegation cannot support any position which would deny the force in South Korea the status of a United Nations force.

Where my delegation differs from others is in the matter of the contribution the United Nations force in Korea, as at present constituted, can make to the achievement of our objectives: establishment of a secure peace in Korea and eventual peaceful reunification of the two Koreas.

Although at this stage it would be fruitless to dwell on the historical antecedents which gave rise to the Korean issue, it cannot be denied that the processes leading to the establishment of the United Nations force in Korea set the stage for the present conflict of views on the issue. It should be obvious by now that the continued presence of the United Nations force in South Korea hampers the development of the atmosphere necessary for the creation of a permanent peace in the area itself and serves as a divisive element within the United Nations, which should collectively assist in finding a solution to the issue.

It has been maintained that unless alternative arrangements are made for the maintenance of the Korean Armistice Agreement of 1953, withdrawal of the United Nations Command in Korea would result in a fresh outbreak of hostilities. My delegation appreciates that concern. In our view, however, the pre-

sence of the United Nations Command in Korea would frustrate efforts at achieving even this limited objective of negotiating acceptable alternative arrangements for maintaining the Armistice Agreement. Thus, to make the withdrawal of the United Nations Command contingent on the creation of alternative machinery for maintaining the Armistice Agreement is to create a situation in which the dog will be chasing its tail.

My delegation has studied carefully the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1. In essence this draft resolution underlines all the elements of concern inherent in the Korean issue. These elements are also present in the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709. There is also one essential element common to both draft resolutions: both agree on the necessity for dissolving the United Nations Command. The difference, in this regard, between the two draft resolutions lies in the approach. Operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1:

“Urges all the parties concerned, as a first step, bearing in mind the need to ensure continued observation of the Armistice Agreement and the full maintenance of peace and security in the region, to embark on talks as soon as possible so that the United Nations Command may be dissolved concurrently with arrangements for maintaining the Armistice Agreement”.

Operative paragraph 4 of this draft resolution envisages 1 January 1976 as the date for the dissolution of the United Nations Command. Nevertheless, the dissolution is made contingent upon agreement on “alternative arrangements for the maintenance of the Armistice Agreement”. That in effect nullifies the significance of the date fixed for the dissolution of the United Nations Command. In other words, if by 1 January 1976 there has been no agreement on alternative arrangements for the maintenance of the Armistice Agreement, the United Nations Command will continue to remain in South Korea and, by implication, will continue to remain there as long as no such agreement has been reached.

That situation, as I have already indicated, is unacceptable to my delegation. We take this position because, as I stated earlier on, we do not believe that any alternative arrangements for maintaining the Armistice Agreement can be successfully negotiated as long as the United Nations Command as at present constituted remains in South Korea. In our view, the effect of the United Nations Command continuing to remain in the region would be to perpetuate the present situation, with a po-

tential for heightened confrontation; it would neither lead to alternative arrangements to maintain the Armistice Agreement nor contribute to any negotiations towards a lasting peace in the region. In our view, if there was a genuine concern that the dissolution of the United Nations Command would lead to the outbreak of fresh hostilities, the logical action flowing from the circumstances of the situation, to which the Security Council should address itself, would be to consider urgently the possibility of replacing the present United Nations Command with an acceptable United Nations peace-keeping force.

This assumes that the presence of such a force would be necessary while alternative arrangements were being negotiated for the maintenance of the Armistice Agreement.

The draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709, to which my delegation subscribes, recognizes fully, on the other hand, that the continued presence of the United Nations Command in Korea hampers efforts both at negotiating alternative arrangements for maintaining the Armistice Agreement and at creating the conditions necessary for a permanent peace in the region. That is why, in operative paragraph 3, it:

“Urges the North and the South of Korea to observe the principles of the North-South joint statement and take practical measures for ceasing arms reinforcement, reducing the armed forces of both sides drastically to an equal level, preventing armed conflicts and guaranteeing against the use of force against the other side, and thereby remove the military confrontation and maintain a durable peace in Korea, conducive to accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.”

This places an obligation on both Koreas to refrain from any hostilities, while, at the same time, it is hoped that the dissolution of the United Nations Command would contribute to the creation of the necessary atmosphere for negotiating a permanent peace and working towards reunification of the country.

In our statement on this item in this Committee on 6 December last year, we stated that the

“Absence of hostilities is not necessarily peace.”  
and we argued that

“If the presence of the troops serving under the United Nations flag in Korea is merely to serve as a deterrent... we would consider it self-defeating.” (2037th meeting, p. 28-30)

We said that

"Tranquillity based on deterrence... cannot be regarded as peace." (*Ibid.*)

My delegation still maintains this view.

It is the responsibility of the United Nations to work towards the creation of a peaceful world. In discharging this responsibility, it is the view of my delegation that we should subordinate our national self-interest-oriented foreign policy objectives to the cause of global détente. Unless we are prepared to do this, we shall continue to fan isolated embers of fire which will ultimately flame up to engulf all of us in a conflagration from which none of us will survive to tell the tale of tragedy.

We have the choice between survival and destruction; it is up to us to make that choice.





## MUBARAK

### Sudan

In taking the floor for the first time, my delegation wishes to extend to the Chairman and all the officers of the First Committee, heartfelt congratulations upon their election. We are fortunate that the Chairman is guiding our deliberations in this Committee. His own wisdom and diplomatic skills, the great civilization and old democratic traditions of his country, our sister Lebanon, which he represents, are an assurance that the outcome of our discussions will contribute to strengthening the role of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security.

My delegation also extends its warmest greetings to the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, under the leadership of His Excellency Li Jong Mok, the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs. The comprehensive statement submitted by him undoubtedly represents the earnest desire of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to achieve independence and the peaceful reunification of Korea.

The Chairman was right when he said in his opening remarks at the beginning of this debate that it is appropriate this year that our Committee is dealing with the question of Korea immediately following our consideration of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. Indeed, it is ironic that the situation in Korea is still continuing to endanger international peace and security, when détente, the relaxation of tension and interdependence are fervently advocated by the super-Powers and many other countries. The historic victories of the heroic people of Viet-Nam and Cambodia, and the liberation of the Portuguese colonies in Africa, have created favourable conditions for a further positive development in Korea and other parts of the world. However, the situation in Korea remains one of the residuals of cold war and arms race policies. The increasing military build-up in South Korea and repeated nuclear threats are a reminder of the seriousness of the situation

in Korea. Therefore, we are confident that the United Nations General Assembly will make every effort, during this session, to enable the people of Korea to achieve a peaceful reunification.

The Joint Communiqué of the North and the South of 4 July 1972 has laid down, *inter alia*, the basic principles for a relaxation of tension and the peaceful reunification of the country. The Joint Communiqué stipulates that: unification should be achieved independently without being subject to external imposition or interference; unification should be achieved by peaceful means and not through the use of force against the other side; and, as a homogeneous people, a great national unity should be sought above all, transcending differences in ideas, ideologies and systems.

It is the conviction of my delegation that the above-quoted principles and the five-point proposition for national reunification submitted by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are the most fair and reasonable proposals.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has repeatedly demonstrated its willingness and readiness to comply with these lofty principles. President Kim Il Sung stated on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Korean Workers' Party, on 9 October 1975, that:

**"We are ready to hold negotiations at any time with all political parties including the Democratic Republican Party, social organizations and individual personages in south Korea on the reunification question, and to unite and collaborate with them in the cause of national reunification."**

When we advocate peaceful reunification of Korea, we recall our own national experience. After 17 years of civil strife, we succeeded, under the leadership of President Nimeiry, in achieving the unity of the Sudan by peaceful means. Our national experience convinced us, furthermore, that most of the problems of partitions and divisions of small countries are a product of colonial policies, big-Power rivalries and cold war. If the peoples of Asia are left alone, they are capable of resolving their difficulties in a peaceful and amicable way.

Peaceful reunification of Korea cannot be achieved as long as foreign troops are stationed in South Korea. For this reason we have focussed on two elements in our draft resolution (A/C.1/L.709): namely, dissolution of the United Nations Command and withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag.

For many years attempts were made to justify the presence

of foreign troops in South Korea on the ground that they were United Nations forces. My delegation repeatedly stated that the presence of foreign troops in Korea was illegal and therefore called for the dissolution of the United Nations Command and the withdrawal of all foreign troops in Korea under the United Nations flag. At last we come to know that the United Nations Command in Korea is composed of less than 300 persons; the other tens of thousands of troops are not under the United Nations flag and are not a matter of United Nations business. They will continue to stay in Korea under the Mutual Defence Treaty.

It is no secret that the Mutual Defence Treaty was concluded in August 1953, after the Korean Armistice Agreement had been signed in July 1953. The Armistice Agreement envisaged, in Article IV (para. 60), discussion of the question of withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea within three months after the Armistice Agreement was signed. Further, the Treaty is a violation of Article II (para. 13 (c)), which stipulates that the parties should: "Cease the introduction into Korea of reinforcing military personnel". If the terms of the Armistice Agreement were scrupulously observed by all parties, all foreign troops should have left Korea by now. The People's Republic of China set a good example when it voluntarily withdrew its forces from the north in accordance with the provisions of the Armistice Agreement.

In addition to the aforesaid, the presence of foreign troops in Korea cannot be reconciled with the new realities in south-east Asia, where hundreds of thousands of foreign troops equipped with the most sophisticated weapons failed to save the régimes of Saigon and Phnom Penh.

The new realities of Asia, and of Korea in particular, cannot be better explained than they were by Gari Ledyard, an expert on Korean affairs. Gari Ledyard, associate professor of Korean History at Columbia University, wrote in *The New York Times* of 26 July:

"It is time for the United States to rethink its position in Korea.... We should ... begin to formulate a policy that looks beyond two Koreas to a unified and stable peninsula.

"Such a policy would involve a gradual and measured withdrawal of our troops while maintaining our other Korean ties, all in such a way as to promote conditions in which both the South and the North have their due and proper influence in any unification talks.

"Unification will not be easy to achieve, but nothing short of unification can ever resolve the cruel dilemmas of Korea. It is essential that we drop our long acceptance of a split Korea as a tolerable situation and state clearly that unification is our ultimate goal, and then work towards that end. Otherwise this dangerously volatile Korean situation will persist indefinitely into the future, with all the attendant dangers of a nuclear war.

"In such a conflict, surely Koreans will not be the only victims. The time to get control of the situation is now ..."

I quoted Professor Ledyard at length because his statement forcefully explains the dangers of the present *status quo* policy, which the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1 is trying to maintain.

Last August, in Lima, when the non-aligned States admitted the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to their group, they reaffirmed their support for the policy of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea without any foreign interference. The non-aligned States also demanded withdrawal of all foreign troops under the United Nations flag and that the Armistice Agreement be replaced by a peace agreement with a view to guaranteeing a durable peace in Korea.

Since the Armistice Agreement is a temporary cease-fire agreement, it can neither put an end to the state of war nor guarantee a lasting peace. For this reason, the draft resolution suggests that the Armistice Agreement be replaced by a peace agreement as a measure to ease tension and maintain and consolidate peace in Korea in the context of the dissolution of the United Nations Command and the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in Korea under the United Nations flag. The Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea said very clearly in his statement last week that after the conclusion of the peace treaty and the withdrawal of foreign troops the North and the South can continue the constructive dialogue which they started in July 1972. The United Nations should help and encourage these discussions and create favourable conditions for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. In so doing, the United Nations will be complying with the principles of the Charter and contributing effectively to the relaxation of tension and the establishment of international peace and security.



## AHMED

### Egypt

Since this is the first time that I have spoken in the First Committee during this session, I should like to express to the Chairman and to the other officers of the Committee my sincere congratulations on their election to their respective posts. I am sure that under their able guidance our Committee will discharge the delicate task assigned to it in a most satisfactory manner.

Conditions and external forces and effects have imposed division on the people of Korea, a single people previously united for thousands of years by one history, one civilization and one language. For 22 years since the end of the war they have also imposed on that people a state of instability, so that they are unable to enjoy any peace, whether official or real.

The people and Government of Egypt have friendly and co-operative relations with the people of Korea. My Government has diplomatic relations with the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and fully appreciates its continued support of our own causes, for which we are grateful. Cairo also has a general consulate in South Korea. Egypt wishes all Koreans every possible good and hopes that they will be able to overcome the artificial external obstacles that have divided their unity and caused them great suffering and crises.

In 1973 the General Assembly, at its twenty-eighth session, adopted by consensus a resolution which was a warm appeal and which reflected the great hopes of the General Assembly that the Korean people could overcome and forget their differences and reach an agreement on solving their problems which had persisted for too long. Two years have passed since the adoption of that resolution and, instead of an improvement in the climate, the situation and the problems still remain. In spite of all the obvious difficulties, we still look

forward to the day—a day perhaps not far off—when we shall reach a compromise or a consensus. The friends and well-wishers of the people of Korea can only repeat their hope, their appeal and also their belief that the difficulties of Korea can only be solved by the Koreans themselves and through a consensus of opinion regarding the hoped for peaceful solution. Therefore we express the hope that the same constructive spirit of compromise and conciliation which enabled the two States to reach an agreement once before on 4 July 1972 can bring this event to pass once again.

The Joint Communiqué issued by the representatives of the Korean people in the north and in the south in July 1972 has laid the basis for this necessary peace agreement between the two parts of Korea. A prerequisite for the establishment of this basis according to the representatives of the two Korean States was the termination of the provisional armistice situation which has existed since 1953, in fact for much longer than necessary. The basis on which they agreed had the following aims. First, that the two parts of Korea should be united peacefully and independently, in freedom from any external intervention or imposition, and this, in our opinion, means the withdrawal of the foreign military presence which is disguised under the fictional title of the "United Nations Command" in Korea; secondly, that such a unification should take place through dialogue and negotiation between the two parts of Korea, the north and the south; thirdly, that the two Koreas should attempt gradually to lay the foundations of unity through increased co-operation in the organizational, intellectual, cultural and other fields.

The 1953 Armistice envisaged its own speedy termination; three months after its signature, in fact, a more stable and durable system was to be substituted. Whatever the reasons which so far have delayed the replacement of this provisional armistice system by more durable and stable measures, it is obvious to all that the ending of the armistice must be accompanied by efforts to lay the foundations of peaceful co-operation and understanding between the two parts of Korea, so that they may achieve that greater unity to which the Korean people aspires and on which the two parties agreed in their Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972. Naturally, the parties must agree about these joint measures by means of a consensus of opinion among the Koreans themselves, for they alone can forge their own unity.

One of the most important and necessary steps to be taken is

to substitute confidence for doubt and mutual recrimination and accusation, in other words, to substitute for the armistice system measures for peace and security. In the opinion of my delegation this entails the adoption of a new attitude and requires the two Koreas to give up talking about or threatening war. Too much talk about war can unfortunately produce the effect it describes, in other words, it can in the final analysis lead to an outbreak of war. The new attitude to be adopted should also indicate that the two parties will on every occasion renew their previous commitments to abandon the road to war and to agree on peaceful means as the way to the greater unity they so desire.

That is why we welcome the statement made by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea issued on 11 August 1975, that it has no aggressive intentions with regard to South Korea. In that statement North Korea also expresses its wish to be able to trust the South. This is exactly what the Republic of Korea also states. This exchange of good and shared intentions can only confirm and clarify what they previously stated in their Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972. We call upon the two Korean Republics to repeat and affirm anew what they already stated in July 1972 as to their good and peaceful intentions towards each other. They are an encouraging and necessary factor, and there is no harm in repeating them on every occasion.

The next step before us now, after this, is to eliminate any external intervention and to leave both North and South Korea alone to overcome their differences and to establish the basis and take measures for co-operation and coexistence between them on the road to the greater unity they desire. The time has come to put an end to the fiction of the United Nations Command in Korea. The time has also come to substitute for the provisional armistice, which has lasted for 22 years, durable, peaceful and secure measures which will guarantee the interests and meet the aspirations of all the inhabitants of Korea in the north and in the south. As the two Korean parties previously agreed, in July 1972, all that should take place through dialogue, without any external intervention, irrespective of apparent differences that may arise sometimes, and with due regard to the means and methods of progress towards their common aim.

I should like to remind the Committee here once more of the position of the Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt, as expressed by its Deputy Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs before the last session of the General Assembly in October 1974, when he said:



"We also hope that the foreign forces will be withdrawn from South Korea and that the Korean people in both the North and the South will be left to decide their own affairs, free from provocation or intervention." (A/PV.2250, p. 28-30)

As members are aware, my Government is committed to the resolutions of the non-aligned Conference held in Algeria in 1973 and that held in Lima in 1975, which also called for the withdrawal of the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations and for the termination of all forms of external intervention in Korean affairs.

For all these reasons, my delegation joins its voice with and lends its support to Algeria and other countries in sponsoring the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709, which calls for the withdrawal of foreign troops under the United Nations flag from Korea. It does so in line with concepts we have explained and in compliance with the following principles:

First, the Korean people are, in our opinion, entitled and fully able to practise their right to self-determination and to select their political systems without external intervention;

Secondly, there is a need to terminate the provisional armistice system which has continued in force for the last 22 years, substituting for it the necessary measures to create favourable conditions for the two Koreas to set up the basis of greater unity between them through constructive dialogue and under the flag of peace;

Thirdly, it is not in the interest of the United Nations to continue an unwitting party to any form of interference in the affairs of Korea by, for instance, lending its name and flag to a foreign command whose presence the times and circumstances no longer require;

Fourthly, it is unsuitable for the United Nations General Assembly to confer legitimacy any foreign military presence by adopting a resolution referring to the continuation of such a presence after the liquidation of the United Nations Command in Korea. It is clear that such action does not fall within the concerns or competence of our Organization;

Fifthly, the affairs of North and South Korea should be decided upon by the Koreans themselves in accordance with their free will, with the path they choose and with the Joint Communiqué issued by the two Korean Republics in July 1972. We hope that joint statement will show the way to all Koreans in their endeavours for peace, unity and prosperity.





## GAUCI

### Malta

It is the hope of my delegation that the political clouds that still hover over the Korean peninsula will finally start to disperse under the impetus of the warm winds of détente. It is consequently not my intention to hark back to the erratic course of the past but rather to look forward with renewed confidence to the future. Neither is it my intention to indulge in polemics or to apportion blame for past errors. The history of this question is well documented and has already been reviewed in this debate by several better informed speakers than I. My own delegation has in previous years already had the opportunity to explain its position on this item in some detail, and I do not wish to be repetitive.

As the Chairman of this Committee has wisely stated, international diplomacy has not exhausted its resources and wisdom in the search for the best means of putting an end to the dilemma facing the Korean people. The objective of our debate should be to try to identify common ground and to pinpoint the obstacles that have so far prevented progress.

What we all know is that, against the explicit will of the entire Korean people, the country is still artificially divided and still represents a running sore in international relations. One cannot but express a feeling of dismay over the fact that an ancient and cultured people, so long after the events of the Second World War, which forced division on to an unwilling nation, should still have its legitimate goal of reunification denied it through extraneous considerations of global security as seen by outside Powers.

We also know that the international community has on innumerable occasions reaffirmed the right of the Korean people to peaceful reunification and that a desire for this has been confirmed publicly and emphatically by both sides of that divided country. Through an odd sense of priorities, the United Nations,

which has been and must continue to be involved in this issue, two years ago decided at long last to dissolve UNCURK. This was an implicit admission that reunification could not be achieved through the measures the Organization had initially devised. But the world body refrained from any recommendation concerning the removal of the more obvious symbol of division—that is, the presence of foreign troops in South Korea. Twenty-two years after the signing of the Armistice Agreement, and against the background of repeated declarations by both sides abjuring the use of force, the opinion implied by some countries that hostilities could be expected to break out at any moment because of a march to the South if foreign forces were removed seems to me to be totally unjustified. In fact, that theory flies in the face of logic, given the relative disparity in strength between the two sides and today's changed circumstances. No side can claim a monopoly on peaceful intentions or on fear of possible aggression.

With respect, I find it difficult to understand the thesis advanced by others that a clearly anachronistic Armistice Agreement, one that its own preamble describes as intended to be purely military in character, should be considered a better foundation for peace than an overdue and comprehensive peace agreement. I also find it difficult to understand how a withdrawal limited to a few hundred staff personnel and ceremonial guard would be considered a sufficient contribution towards easing tension. I find it more difficult to understand why official declarations publicly made and solemnly repeated at the highest level in this chamber only a few days ago should not be considered a more meaningful contribution towards understanding and peaceful intent.

The notion that the structure of peace can best be established by an ever-escalating military confrontation goes against the fundamental instincts of my country. With today's weapons systems, such a situation, wherever it occurs, has ominous implications for peace and shows that scant regard is being paid to the over-all principles of the United Nations. In the final analysis and in this particular situation, peace depends on the attainment by the Korean people of their clearly expressed wish for reunification. Conversely, peace will remain absent as long as this objective is not realized and the obstacles to its realization are not removed.

It is against this background that we must evaluate the regrettable but, in the circumstances, not surprising lack of progress in the North-South dialogue. The essential points of

the Joint Communiqué of 1972, which the international community welcomed and endorsed, merit repetition.

They are:

First, that reunification should be achieved independently — and I emphasize this part of the phrase — without reliance upon outside forces or interferences.

Secondly, that reunification should be achieved by peaceful measures, without recourse to the use of arms against the other side.

Thirdly, that great national unity as one nation should be promoted first of all, transcending the difference of ideology and social systems.

That might be a process which needs time for old wounds to heal, for understanding and co-operation to increase, for economic progress, impressive as it already is, to be further augmented; but it requires also a solid foundation, and that has so far been lacking. The over-all political objective has evidently not been provided by the Armistice Agreement, which in any case is by definition a temporary arrangement. Still less can it be said to be served by a large and powerfully armed contingent of foreign forces stationed in South Korea — the only remaining forces, as has been pointed out, after the cessation of hostilities over two decades ago. The geographic proximity of other potentially interested countries is no valid reason for denying that fact. Geographic factors are in any case unchangeable, but the mobility of the world's balance of power these days takes only scant account of such factors and is subject to overriding political considerations. The presence of military forces in South Korea cannot but be seen by the entire population as a disheartening symbol of tension, insecurity and division and of a residual foreign presence. It is additionally a contradiction of the terms both of the Armistice Agreement and of the North-South Joint Communiqué. It is bound to convey the impression of permanent division, especially when accompanied simultaneously by political attempts to secure the admission of North and South Korea as separate Members of the United Nations, which would tend towards perpetuating the division of the country.

Events in recent years, although there have been some tragic miscalculations, have helped to change for the better the political climate in Asia. Inside Korea proposals have been put forward in an effort to translate into practice the objectives of the North-South Joint Communiqué. Those proposals respond to the desire, from which allegedly no country dissents, for the

peaceful reunification of Korea. That is in itself positive proof, if any were needed, of the desire to set in motion the promised dialogue. The failure to respond to those proposals is engendering resentment among the entire Korean people, and from that resentment political unrest inevitably ensues.

The stationing of troops on foreign soil is a divisive element in both the sending and the receiving country. It is a potential source of future conflict. It is essential that every effort be made to remove that anomaly. In these circumstances it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the major, visible and enduring obstacle to progress towards reunification is the presence of foreign forces in South Korea, irrespective of the mysteriously changing colour of the flag under which they shelter, and that is the rock on which progress from a temporary state of armistice to a durable state of peace is inevitably foundering. A state of armistice stretching over two decades is at the very least an unstable proposition, and this is accentuated by the fact that it has demonstrably brought about no political progress but, on the contrary, remains a degrading symbol of division and of the unacceptable *status quo*.

Probably there is not a single country that has not had, at some time in its history, a bitter experience which in its turn has led to a firm resolve to bring about the desired change for a better future. The commitment of both sides to the cause of peaceful unification should be, must be, the bond that links the two sides in a common objective. It is a cause which cannot but command the support of all nations, as it has already elicited the support of all non-aligned countries.

The withdrawal of foreign forces would, in my view, be the single most significant impetus that could be given to this prospect. The expressed willingness for discussion between the real parties concerned and the bilateral contacts currently under way would further help to pave the way, with the encouragement of this Organization. In the year of this thirtieth anniversary of the United Nations we should not hesitate to take a decisive step forward which would not simply replace one unsatisfactory arrangement by another but rather would go to the heart of the matter in a comprehensive manner.

There is common ground on which the search for a better future can be based. The question before us is not one of procedure, nor is it one for fine legal quibbling. It is essentially an internal matter for the Korean people, but only after the obvious obstacle has been removed. Nothing would have given my delegation greater pleasure than to have had before it a

draft resolution seriously advocated by both sides, with which my country maintains diplomatic relations. Since such a draft resolution has not been forthcoming we have to make a rational choice between the two drafts before the Committee. As Malta is a sponsor of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709, it will be clear that, for the reasons I have stated, our choice is for that which commands the highest sponsorship, both in number and in geographic relevance; one that suggests a more comprehensive attempt towards progress. The draft resolution speaks for itself and its main provisions have already been explained by several of the sponsors.

The other draft resolution, while attempting to diminish past rigidity, does not appear to my delegation to go to the core of the problem and is therefore insufficient to meet the stated objectives of this Organization, which have been repeatedly reaffirmed: the peaceful reunification of Korea and the removal of an anomalous situation which still remains a source of international tension.

It is the considered opinion of my Government that the provisions of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709 are better designed to bring about the desired objective. We are witnessing here the powerful seed of reunification striving to reach the sunlight. Its growth has so far been stunted by artificial obstacles put in its way. The time has come to remove obstacles, through negotiation, and to allow that seed unfettered growth — hence our sponsorship of and support for the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709.



## KANTE

### Mali

Mr. Chairman, the delegation of Mali is all the happier to see you elected as Chairman of the First Committee since you are the eminent representative of a country linked with our own by historical, cultural and spiritual ties. Your great experience of international questions, your eminent human and professional qualities meritably marked you for this high office.

I therefore request you to accept our warm and fraternal congratulations, which we address to you and also to the Vice-Chairman and to the Rapporteur. In the discharge of your lofty and delicate mission you may be assured of the complete co-operation of my delegation.

The victory of the peoples of Indo-China over the forces of aggression was surely one of the outstanding events of 1975. Never has the invincibility of peoples and the vanity of material power been so clearly brought to light.

History will record the end of the long Viet-Nam war and the defeat of the puppets and usurpers of Phnom Penh as the most significant events of our era.

This double victory has opened up new and promising perspectives for Asia, whose peoples fought for more than 30 years against the infernal war machine of imperialism to defend their freedom and independence. To more than a generation of the men of that martyred land, peace is an unfamiliar word.

However, the hopes then aroused might be dashed, if the Korean crisis is not rapidly resolved. This virulent sore on the body of the Asian continent could at any time threaten international security because South East Asia is a major pawn in the planetary strategy of colonial reconquest of certain Powers, with their notorious theory of an advanced defence system.

The Korean crisis remains one of the rare relics of the cold war. And contrary to the awkward affirmations of some, it is in fact essentially a colonial situation, the more so since the

Korean people have never had an opportunity freely to exercise their right to self-determination and independence. It was colonized since the beginning of the century, and in 1945 it was liberated by the allied forces, more specifically, by the American and Soviet armies, the first coming from the south and the second from the north.

But the deliberate violations of the Agreements of Moscow, Cairo, Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam by the United States of America have, since blocked the process of decolonization of the country. And 30 years after the end of the Second World War, the 38th parallel on which the allied forces received the surrender of the occupation troops, continues to divide Korea.

The United States, because of the rivalries which underlay the cold war, has made every endeavour to exacerbate and crystallize divergencies between the two zones. After having paralysed the United States-Soviet Joint Commission created by the Moscow Conference with the task of assisting the country to form a provisional government, it strove to create a virulent antagonism between the North and the South. In the pursuit of this anti-Korean policy, it had recourse to the services of a puppet, in the person of Syngman Rhee, that old dictator of sinister memory, who was returning from a 30-year exile. And, in violation of all the inter-allied agreements, in 1948 they put him at the head of the administration of their zone of occupation.

To foil the sinister designs of the Seoul puppet and its masters, the elected Assembly of the Korean people, made up of 360 representatives of the South and 212 of the North met on 9 September 1948 on the territory of the northern part of the country in order to form a representative government headed by Kim Il Sung.

It must be remembered that that Parliament was established in accordance with General Assembly resolution 112 (II) of 14 November 1947, whose provisions specifically provided that the representatives of the democratic organs to be set up to govern were to be elected and not appointed.

Nevertheless, since Syngman Rhee and his clique, who were thus unprovided for, redoubled their threats and their armed provocations in order to halt the process which had been started by that legal institution to lead the country to reunification. A climate of extreme tension was deliberately created between the two zones in order to arouse international public opinion and block the positive evolution which had been started by the Assembly of the People of All Korea.



The United Nations, prompted by the United States, established on 12 December 1948 an observation Commission charged with lending "its good offices to bring about the reunification of Korea" (General Assembly resolution 195 (III) ).

On 1 January 1949 the Soviet Union, in compliance with the Agreements of May 1945 totally withdrew its occupation forces from North Korea. After some hesitation, the United States of America, six months later, decided to imitate the Soviet Union. But it only withdrew part of its troops and maintained in South Korea a contingent of 500 men whose mission it was to train the *harakis* of Syngman Rhee.

Despite the massive financial and military assistance given to the old dictator in Seoul by the Government in Washington, the economic situation deteriorated and public finance crumbled. To calm the general agitation Washington was compelled to force its obstinate stepchild to hold general elections by threatening to withdraw its assistance.

The people, which did not resign itself to partition of its country reacted vigorously in the legislative consultations of June 1950, and despite repression and intimidations, voted in favour of the adversaries of the old puppet régime in Seoul, which was clinging desperately to power.

But, not content with its condemnation by the verdict of the people, the latter set in motion its blind machinery of repression. More than 13,000 opponents, 14 of whom were deputies, were arbitrarily imprisoned and tortured. It was in this overcharged atmosphere that Syngman Rhee put his threats into practice and attacked North Korea, which reacted vigorously.

The army of Syngman Rhee crumbled. The United States then hastily called for an urgent meeting of the Security Council and put the responsibility for the crisis on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. And even before the Security Council had taken a decision it sent to the rescue of its South Korean puppets the terrible Seventh Fleet and the troops stationed in Okinawa. The Commander-in-Chief of the United States armed forces in the Pacific was charged with directing the operations of that expeditionary corps.

We must indicate here that the Security Council, manipulated by certain Powers, met hastily in the absence of the representation of the Soviet Union, one of the five permanent members.

It was therefore in those doubtful circumstances that the principal decisions of our Organization on the Korean question



were taken. Legally, the resolutions adopted by the Security Council on 25 and 27 June 1950, on the one hand, and on 7 July 1950 on the other, are null and void, because the Charter, which governs the matter, provides in Article 27 (3) that on questions other than procedural ones decisions "shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members including the concurring votes of the permanent members". At that time, of course, the composition of the Security Council was different from what it is today.

It was, furthermore, this last resolution that created the famous United Nations Command headed by the General commanding the United States Armed Forces in the Pacific, who was none other than the chief of the American expeditionary corps in South Korea.

Have not those who today reproach the third world for having substituted the General Assembly for the Security Council in order, in 1974, to suspend the racist régime of Pretoria and grant the Palestine Liberation Organization the observer status in our Organization, illegally seized the General Assembly, rather than the Security Council, of the Korean question, in order to serve their evil cause?

Was it not the eight-Power resolution adopted on 7 October 1950, that ordered the establishment of the 38th parallel as the boundary for the United States expeditionary corps operating illegally under the United Nations aegis? And the resolution, adopted on 3 November 1950, of the seven Powers and called the Acheson resolution on "Uniting for Peace", does that not provide that in case of a threat to peace, if the Security Council is unable to discharge its responsibility because of the veto, the General Assembly will immediately be seized of the question in order to make appropriate recommendations to States Members on the collective measures to be taken, including the use of armed force?

Those two decisions, which constitute grave and flagrant violations of the fundamental law of our Organization — that is to say of the Charter — were nevertheless sponsored by the very ones which today denounce relevant resolutions which oppose their particular interest or their unavowed designs, and which describe the new majority which has been appearing in the United Nations since the emergence on the international scene of the States of the third world as the "automatic and tyrannical majority". For them, obviously, democracy is the reign of the strong over the weak; it is the allegiance of the latter to the former.

They have quickly forgotten what happened in the past, that for more than a quarter of a century they manipulated and dominated the United Nations and made it serve them, and guided its decisions in the direction of their interests alone, which often had nothing in common with the objectives of the Charter, taking advantage of the devotion of small and medium-size neo-colonial States.

That is how the United Nations became involved in this hazardous affair which is the Korean question, and that is why, 30 years after its liberation by Allied troops, Korea remains divided despite the will so often expressed by its people. That is why, finally, our Organization has lost its credibility and authority in international public opinion.

To recall these principal episodes in the Korean question is certainly essential in order to get rid completely of the obsolete clichés which we are constantly repeating. Today, it is clear to all that the so-called United Nations forces stationed in Korea are nothing other than the United States expeditionary corps, as is the famous United Nations Command at its head. We all agree that our Organization does not effectively control the United Nations forces. They receive their instructions from the United States Government alone and it is to it that they are accountable.

We all know why it took 22 long years for those facts, which created for each of us a problem of conscience, to be revealed in the light of day.

The Korean people for its part understood that its problem could only be resolved in freedom from external interference and intervention. That is why, without reference to the United Nations or any ally, the North and the South started a dialogue in 1971. On 4 July 1972 the two parties published a Joint Communiqué defining, in three points, the principles for the reunification of their country, namely:

1. Reunification shall be achieved through independent efforts without being subject to external imposition or interference.

2. Reunification shall be achieved through peaceful means, and not through the use of force against each other.

3. As a homogeneous people, a great national unity shall be sought above all, transcending differences in ideas, ideologies, and systems.

That historic Joint Communiqué furthermore commits the two parties not to slander or defame each other and not to

undertake armed provocations whether on a large or small scale; to take positive measures to prevent inadvertent military incidents with a view to lessening tensions between the North and the South and to expediting independent peaceful unification of the North and the South; and to engage in exchanges between the North and the South in many fields and with that aim to establish and put in operation a South-North Co-ordinating Committee.

On 23 June 1973, Marshal Kim Il Sung, President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, confirmed and, in a striking statement, upheld those principles. Everything should have been clear then to any impartial observer. The Korean people wishes to achieve the peaceful reunification of its country and does not wish to have it postponed indefinitely. It is, therefore, resolutely committed to achieving it without foreign interference.

The United Nations must seize the opportunity offered to it to extricate itself from what could now well be called the Korean wasp's nest by creating conditions favourable for the transformation of the Armistice Agreement into a durable peace agreement and the acceleration of the independent and peaceful reunification of the country — a reunification which, moreover, the United Nations has committed itself to bringing about in all the resolutions it has adopted on the matter.

This is exactly what is proposed in the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.709 of 24 September 1975 presented by more than 40 countries, including my own. The creation of such conditions requires, first of all, the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Command and the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the cover of the United Nations flag. Secondly, the Armistice Agreement of 27 July 1953 must be made redundant by the conclusion of a peace agreement between the contracting parties. Thirdly, there must be strict observance by the Koreans of the principles of the North-South Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972, in accordance with the decision adopted on 28 November 1973 by the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session.

By adopting such a decision our Organization would assist the Korean people to speed up the fulfilment of this profound aspiration, namely, the independent and peaceful reunification of its country. For us it would be the completion of the process which we started in 1974 by dissolving the famous United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea.

To those who claim that transforming the Armistice Agreement of 27 July 1953 into a peace agreement would leave a vacuum, South Korea not being a party to that act, we would respond by saying that the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972 remains a fair basis for continuing the process of solving the Korean crisis. It would perhaps be sufficient to strengthen it and transform it into an instrument of international law.

The inappropriateness of the United Nations presence in Korea has been eloquently proved since the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. Furthermore, the détente that is being built up is incompatible with the tricks and doctrines of the cold war. As was stated by the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of Mali, His Excellency Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Samba Cissoko in the statement made in the general debate on 22 September last: "Peace... is global or it is nothing." In order for us to believe in the solemnly declared wish for détente proclaimed in Helsinki, Europe must assist our Organization in putting an end to the violations of peace and the threats to peace in Asia and in all continents.

The initiative taken by certain European Powers in the Korean affair, runs counter to the spirit of dialogue which prevailed at the seventh special session and which moreover made possible the resumption of the preparatory conference in Paris on energy, raw materials, development and monetary problems.

As Ambassador Baroody, the eminent dean of our Organization, said last week, our Organization seems to rediscover a certain cohesion when faced with challenges that are offered mankind, but it is once again divided on the Korean question. That, my delegation regrets.

It is not possible to maintain indefinitely, as the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1 would require, an armistice which is nothing more than a temporary military agreement for the separation of the combatants, a cease-fire if you like. The one that concerns us today — the Korean Armistice Agreement — has been in force for 22 years. We must admit that that is too long.

The Korean people, which, like all other peoples, has suffered from Hitlerian fascism, does not deserve its present fate.

Asia is not Europe. Each people has its own characteristics and values to which it is attached. On the Asian continent men still cling to a certain code, as is proved by the reunification process started by the heroic people of Viet-Nam since its victory over the forces of aggression. The balkanization of Africa at the hands of colonists cannot be used to justify the partition

of Korea against the will of its people. Certainly it was colonized at one time and so it must now accede to the full enjoyment of its rights within its own territorial borders.

All these considerations should lead us to push on with the settlement of the Korean crisis. The risks of a conflagration in Asia remain great because of the presence in southern Korea of foreign troops in violation of article IV (para. 60) of the Armistice Agreement of 27 July 1953. We cannot forget that South Korea has since been transformed into a veritable nuclear base and that 40,000 non-Koreans are there on a war-footing.

Furthermore, high-ranking officers have lately deplored the fact that the American Government did not have recourse to the fatal weapon in the last moments of the war in Viet-Nam. Let us not wait until irreparable deeds are done. Let us act before it is too late and let us act in the interests of international peace and security, which it is the mission of our Organization to safeguard. The adoption of the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1 would mean maintaining the *status quo*, and refusing to make any progress in the Korean crisis.



## SINGH

### Nepal

Once again the question of Korea is before us. It is indeed unfortunate that even after 30 years of the existence of this potentially explosive problem we have not been able to make much progress towards its solution. Hopes generated by the historic North-South Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972 and the consensus resolution adopted by the General Assembly in 1973 have been belied. It has always been an ardent desire of my delegation to see the peaceful evolution of a process that could undo the unfortunate legacy of the Second World War in Korea and thereby create a situation conducive to the emergence of an independent and unified Korea.

In the post-war era when colonialism was beating a hasty retreat from all parts of the globe, Korea became the victim of big-Power rivalry, which has perpetuated the artificial division of a culturally and ethnically homogenous people. When the United Nations was founded to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, tragically the Korean people had to undergo untold suffering due to armed conflict imposed by outside Powers. It is a great irony that such a remarkable people with a penchant for freedom remain divided even 22 years after the signing of the armistice.

It is a unique situation, for this prolongation of the armistice is unprecedented in the history of war and peace. Armistice means a temporary stopping of warfare by mutual agreement, as a truce preliminary to the signing of a peace treaty, but 22 years have already passed, yet we are no nearer to a peace treaty. Under the circumstances, any talk of the reunification of Korea is bound to remain a pious wish. Therefore my delegation believes it is high time that some breakthrough be made to bring about a desirable change in the *status quo* and thereby end the stalemate.

Some members have expressed fear and great apprehen-

sion that with the ending of the armistice peace and stability on the Korean peninsula may be in jeopardy, but to meet such a situation necessary safeguards with ironclad guarantees mutually acceptable to the parties directly concerned may be devised, so that peace and stability could be maintained. Alternatively, the possibilities of a non-aggression pact between North and South Korea, or the specific assignment of a role to the Secretary-General to bring about a viable peace treaty, cannot altogether be ruled out.

Continuance of the armistice offers no solution to the Korean problem, for it simply aggravates the situation while perpetuating the division of Korea with the continued presence of foreign troops under the United Nations flag. While the continuance of the United Nations Command is incompatible with the rôle of the United Nations as a peace-keeper, it is heartening to note that all have agreed that the United Nations Command in Korea should be dissolved. In principle we are always opposed to the stationing of foreign troops, no matter under what pretext, in any country, but if there is an overwhelming threat to the very existence and survival of a country, then it is a different matter altogether.

In view of the foregoing considerations, my delegation feels that political and military dialogues between North and South are the only sensible and practical way to preserve the peace, unify the country and avoid foreign involvement.

My delegation firmly believes that the Korean problem can be solved by the Korean people themselves, and no outside Powers have any right to impose any solution. In other words, it is the Korean people who will work out their own destiny in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter or the principle of the right of self-determination free of outside interference. The international community has a duty to encourage the Korean people to achieve independent reunification of their country on the basis of the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity. To this end, my delegation would like to urge both North and South Korea to resume immediately, and continue, their dialogue in accordance with the spirit of the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972.

Finally, my delegation would like to reiterate here that the parties directly concerned should embark on talks with a view to finding a peaceful solution for the unification of the Korean people so that perpetual peace may be attained in the Land of

Morning Calm; which they so richly deserve after such a long period of nightmarish existence.

Let us therefore avail ourselves of this opportunity to create favourable conditions for accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea before peace eludes our grasp, like the proverbial cup of Tantalus, in that part of the world.





## KINENE

### Uganda

I shall express my delegation's views briefly, as it is getting late and many distinguished representatives have already expressed their views on this important question. As I am speaking for the first time in this Committee, however, allow me,

Mr. Chairman, on behalf of my delegation, to congratulate you and the other officers of the Committee on your unanimous election. The capable way in which you are conducting the business of this Committee is ample justification of your election.

My delegation attaches profound importance to the peaceful settlement of the Korean issue. For the last 28 years the people of the Korean peninsula have lived in two separate camps, divided by imperialist forces which are entirely beyond their control. The time has come for the people of Korea to manage their own destiny and to reunite without external pressures or interference. It is the considered view of my delegation that the solution to the Korean problem lies exclusively with the Korean people themselves.

His Excellency, the President of the Republic of Uganda, Field Marshal Idi Amin Dada, VC, DSO, MC, has continually appealed to both South Korean and North Korean officials to come together in a frank and truthful exchange of views with a view to finding a long-term solution to the political impasse in which they have found themselves for the last 28 years. This is because Uganda considers North and South Korea as the real parties to any negotiations on the question of Korea.

I should like to quote from a recent statement made by my President, Field Marshal Idi Amin Dada, in this connexion when he was addressing a rally organized to celebrate United Nations Day, at which representatives of both the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea were present.

"The First Committee of the General Assembly is now considering solutions to the question of Korea.

My advice as a leader of the Republic of Uganda who believes in non-aligned policies and who believes in frank and truthful talks is that the real parties concerned in this problem, that is, South Korea and North Korea, should be given an opportunity to enter into direct negotiations and express their views frankly. It is only by getting frank views from the parties concerned that the First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly will be able to come to a fair and just solution of the Korean problem."

It is for that reason that Uganda maintains friendly and cordial relations with both the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea. Both countries maintain diplomatic missions in Kampala and Field Marshal Idi Amin Dada has on many occasions addressed the two envoys together.

By maintaining diplomatic relations with the two Koreas we do not prejudice the eventual reunification of Korea. On the contrary, we see it as one of the most viable ways of exercising a positive influence on the leaders in both countries.

On the issue of terminating the Armistice Agreement and the dissolution of the United Nations Command in South Korea, my delegation calls for the unconditional withdrawal of United States forces under the United Nations flag. Uganda, a true non-aligned country, does not believe in the presence of foreign troops on the territory of any country. We believe that the continued presence of foreign troops on the territory of either of the parties does not contribute to a peaceful and meaningful move towards reunification. As a matter of fact, it is a threat to international security and not in keeping with the momentum created by the North-South Joint Communiqué issued on 4 July 1972. The General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session, recognizing that positive step, adopted by consensus a resolution supporting the proclaimed desire of the two parties to continue their dialogue. The continued presence of foreign troops on the territory of one of the parties will inevitably place the dialogue in peril and jeopardy.

In conclusion, I should like to reiterate our conviction that the Joint Communiqué of 1972 provides us with a starting point for solving the Korean problem, and we should like to see it implemented.



## OYONO

### United Republic of Cameroon

Mr. Chairman, since I am speaking for the first time, permit me to associate myself with the warm congratulations which have been extended to you on your election to the chairmanship of this Committee and with the good wishes for your success. I

should like to add a personal note, because I know you: I appreciate your human warmth and your diplomatic qualities, and I am convinced that under your enlightened leadership our work will be successful.

For a week now there has been a very interesting debate in this Committee, one that has been very constructive and useful in many ways, on the subject of the definition of the political and juridical means capable of creating conditions favourable for transforming the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

Our Committee has before it two draft resolutions on this subject (A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1 and A/C.1/L.709). While they aim at the same noble purpose — the reunification of Korea, which has since 1945 been artificially divided, through the vicissitudes of the international situation of the time, into two more or less equal zones of antagonism on either side of the 38th parallel — the two draft resolutions do differ as to the ways and means of rapidly achieving that purpose.

This legacy of the cold war, the division of the Korean State into two States with fundamentally opposed ideologies has continually hardened over the years, despite the progressive improvement of the international situation. The two States have developed separately, bound and circumscribed within the zones of influence where they were placed to such a degree that the prospects for their effective reunification became a matter for conjecture all the more. Since antagonism between North Korea and South Korea was born of and maintained by the persistent

antagonism, first naked and later camouflaged, of the great Powers, in that part of South-East Asia.

My delegation is gratified at the fact that this situation, the development and consequences of which arose from the paroxysms of the cold war, has in no way weakened the determination of the Korean people in their struggle for national unity. The division of Korea into two States has become all the more anachronistic because the world which was led to the brink of annihilation by confrontation, at the culmination of the cold war, happily in all conscience opted for détente, understanding and co-operation.

In the light of this evolution it is wrong for the Korean people, divided in 1945, to remain divided in 1975. That is why we welcome the spirit and letter of the North-South Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972, and the decision on the reunification of Korea adopted by the General Assembly at the twenty-eighth session.

The consistent position of the Government of the United Republic of Cameroon on this matter has often been stated by the most authorized spokesmen. That position is dictated by the concerns fundamental to our foreign policy. Firstly, Cameroon knows from its own experience the price of national unity, and remains deeply devoted to it. We are happy to note that this concept is clearly reflected in both draft resolutions. We are convinced that, beyond all ideological differences, the Korean people want to recover their national unity within the framework of their territorial integrity. The people of the United Republic of Cameroon wish to maintain and develop close links of understanding, friendship and co-operation with all the people of Korea. That is the orientation of the diplomatic relations between my country and the Governments of North and South Korea.

Secondly, our position is based on the principles of national independence and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Speaking on 30 September last in the General Assembly, the Foreign Minister of the United Republic of Cameroon vigorously reaffirmed our devotion to these principles. The Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972 proves that the Governments of North and South Korea are both aware of the need to seek the reunification of their country through fraternal dialogue free from all foreign interference. Therefore the presence of foreign troops in either part of Korea seems to us obviously likely to hinder the continuation of this dialogue in all freedom. Since, in addition, the way in which the United Nations has

become involved in this business does not seem calculated to enhance its prestige, it is obvious that the dissolution of the United Nations Command is an urgent requirement.

The controversy as to the way in which dissolution should be brought about, apprehensions as to the risks that may be involved in the creation of a possible military vacuum because of such dissolution — all such speculations fail to take sufficient account of the expressed determination of the two parties never to resort to force for the settlement of their problems of national unification.

Cameroon has no reason to doubt the sincerity of that solemn declaration. That is why we consider that the Joint Communiqué of North and South Korea and the peace agreement that will replace the Armistice Agreement between North Korea and the United Nations, represented by the United States, constitute a sound and solid basis for creating conditions favourable for the reunification of the Korean people.

My delegation will therefore vote for the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709, which we consider to be most in accord with the aspirations of the Korean people, since that draft resolution aims at conferring on the General Assembly the power of creating an effective and rapid means for restoring peace and unity on the Korean peninsula. In voting thus, my delegation is also concerned to contribute to the immediate cessation of the juridical and military fiction that has blemished the name of our Organization, which should remain synonymous with peace and peaceful dialogue. Of course, my Government will continue to associate itself with all initiatives aimed at encouraging the two parties to accelerate the process of reunification by peaceful means free from any threats or attempts at aggression. Consequently, my delegation cannot support the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1.



## ABAKAR ZAID

### Chad

I should like to explain very briefly my delegation's position before the vote on the two draft resolutions concerning the question of Korea which are now before the General Assembly. These two draft resolutions appear in documents A/C.1/

L.708/Rev.1 and A/C.1/L.709.

The position of my country on the question of Korea was explained by the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of the Republic of Chad in the general debate on 24 September 1975. With regard to the domestic affairs of the country, the Government of Chad has always expressed the sincerest wish to see the two fraternal Korean republics, divided today, united. In this regard, the North-South Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972 based on the three principles for reunification in independence at one time met our wishes. Unfortunately, that relevant, realistic declaration was lost sight of and has not been followed up.

Chad has supported and will continue to support all efforts at reunification on the basis of the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972. That is the reason why my delegation, although we abstained in the vote in the First Committee will vote in favour of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709 because we believe it truly expresses the national aspirations of the whole Korean people.

My delegation feels that the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1 does not go to the very heart of the Korean problem and would tend to perpetuate the division of Korea. My delegation will therefore abstain in the vote on the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1.

## **A P P E N D I X E S**





## **STATEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA**

With the thirtieth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations approaching, a number of United Nations Member States have proposed to discuss an agenda item entitled "Creation of favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea" at this year's session of the United Nations General Assembly and co-sponsored the related resolution.

The draft resolution proposes to dissolve the "United Nations Command" and withdraw all the foreign troops stationed in south Korea under the flag of the United Nations in order to terminate the foreign interference in the internal affairs of Korea and accelerate her independent and peaceful reunification. At the same time it calls upon the real parties to the Armistice Agreement to replace the Korean Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement as a fundamental measure to remove tension, prevent armed conflicts and guarantee a durable peace in Korea.

The draft resolution also urges the north and the south of Korea to observe the principles of the North-South Joint Statement and take practical measures of removing military confrontation between the north and the south and thereby maintain and consolidate peace in Korea and accelerate the peaceful reunification of Korea.

Considering that this draft resolution reflecting the common aspiration and the desire of the Korean people and the peace-loving peoples all over the world will contribute to converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea fully supports this draft resolution and expresses its deep thanks to the Governments and peoples of various friendly countries which have co-sponsored the agenda item and the draft resolution.

The draft resolution on creating favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and ac-

celerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea correctly reflects the present situation prevailing in Korea and the demands of the times and rightly proposes a fundamental measure for a practical solution of the problem.

It is owing to the continued occupation of south Korea by the United States and its aggressive policy that the reunification of Korea has not yet been achieved and tension in Korea still persists although 30 years have elapsed since Korea was divided into the north and the south and 22 years since the establishment of armistice in Korea.

Still today the United States keeps bringing illegally up-to-date weapons and military equipment including nuclear arms into south Korea, is reinforcing the United States army and the south Korean army, instigating the south Korean authorities to kick up war rackets without let-up, deliberately stimulating north-south confrontation and aggravating the tension in Korea.

Under these conditions it is impossible either to guarantee a durable peace in Korea or to achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of our country so long as the United States troops in the helmets of "United Nations Forces" are kept in south Korea as they are.

A number of United Nations Member States giving active support to the Korean people's cause of national reunification are extremely right in having proposed in their draft resolution before anything else, the problem of dissolving the "United Nations Command" and withdrawing United States troops stationed in south Korea under the flag of the United Nations.

The draft resolution proposes replacing the Korean Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement as a fundamental measure to remove tension and guarantee a durable peace in Korea in connexion with the dissolution of the "United Nations Command" and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from south Korea.

Originally an armistice agreement is no more than a temporary cease-fire agreement in any case: this can neither terminate the state of war nor guarantee a durable peace. It is more so under the present conditions in which the Korean Armistice Agreement cannot fulfil its original function owing to the ceaseless violations of the Armistice Agreement by the United States side.

Therefore, it poses itself as a more urgent matter to replace the Korean Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement either

in the light of the requirement of the Armistice Agreement itself or in view of the present situation created.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea proposed already long ago to replace the Korean Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement and in this connexion the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea even sent a letter to the United States Congress.

If the United States had harboured no aggressive ambitions on Korea and had been really interested in guaranteeing peace in this region, it should have responded to the proposal of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to conclude a peace agreement.

However, the United States has not responded to our proposal, calling it "propaganda".

Our proposal to conclude a peace agreement illumines the fundamental way of relaxing tension and maintaining a durable peace in Korea. This conforms with the unanimous desire of the peace-loving peoples of the world.

In order to firmly guarantee peace in Korea, along with the replacement of the Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement, the north and the south should observe the North-South Joint Statement and take a decisive measure to remove the military confrontation between the north and the south.

As is rightly proposed in the draft resolution, if the north and the south of Korea take practical measures to cease arms reinforcement, reduce their respective armed forces to an equal level, prevent armed conflicts and guarantee against the use of force against the other side after withdrawal of the United States troops from south Korea, the tension between the north and the south will be removed, a durable peace firmly guaranteed in Korea and an epoch-making progress made in accelerating the peaceful reunification of Korea.

The draft resolution is the most reasonable and fair proposal to remove the main factor which is aggravating tension in Korea and hampering guaranteed peace in this region.

But, the United States and its satellite countries submitted a diagonally opposite draft "resolution" to the United Nations on 27 June last.

In the draft "resolution" the United States side proposed to dissolve the "United Nations Command" and, in this connexion, to let the officers of the United States and south Korean armies ensure the enforcement of the Armistice Agreement in place of the Commander-in-Chief of the "United Nations Command", provided that the parties directly concerned in the Armistice Agree-

ment "agree that they will regard all provisions of the Armistice Agreement as continuing in force".

When it has become an increasingly irresistible demand of the times to withdraw the United States troops from south Korea, the United States, as a crafty trick to check this trend, pretended in the draft "resolution" that it was willing to dissolve the "United Nations Command".

But, the United States side attached some "conditions" to it; in fact, this means that it does not want to dissolve even the "United Nations Command".

And the United States side in the draft "resolution" is talking about only the dissolution of the "United Nations Command" and does not make even a mention of the withdrawal of the United States troops stationed in south Korea under the flag of the United Nations.

This reveals in all nakedness its intention to keep the United States troops in south Korea indefinitely under the specious sign-board of the dissolution of the "United Nations Command".

This is also proved by the fact that the United States authorities are now jabbering openly that even if the "United Nations Command" is dissolved, the United States troops will remain as ever in south Korea under the so-called "ROK-U.S. Mutual Defence Pact".

The United States side also proposes to replace its signatory to the Armistice Agreement—the "commander-in-chief of the United Nations Command"—with the officers of the United States army and the south Korean puppet army, calling it an "alternative arrangement" to maintain the Armistice Agreement. In fact, this is precisely an aggressive demand that we should officially recognize the perpetual occupation of south Korea by the United States troops. If the "United Nations Command", a signatory to the Korean Armistice Agreement, is dissolved, the Armistice Agreement, too, will have no alternative but to cease its existence. Accordingly it is out of the question from the outset to change the signatory to the Armistice Agreement, though it may be another matter to replace the Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement.

At present, the United States takes pain to justify the occupation of south Korea by the United States troops on the plea of fictitious "threat of southward aggression". But this is a preposterous nonsense that can deceive nobody.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of

Korea has made it clear time and again that it has no intention of "invading the south".

In a nutshell, the United States side's draft "resolution" is no more than an outcome of its machinations to hoodwink the world public opinion and justify the continued occupation of south Korea by the United States troops under the specious name of maintaining the Armistice Agreement continuously in Korea, fabricate "two Koreas", perpetuate the division of Korea with the name of the United Nations.

This is a more deceptive document than any other "resolutions" it put forward to the United Nations in the past.

The two opposite draft resolutions submitted to the United Nations General Assembly this year in connexion with the Korean question show who are endeavouring to establish a structure of durable peace in Korea and realize the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea and who are manoeuvring to perpetuate the division of Korea by freezing the present unstable situation of Korea.

This time, in an attempt to cook up "two Koreas" and perpetuate the division of Korea, the United States and the south Korean authorities went so far as to stage the farce of filing the so-called "application for United Nations membership" of south Korea which has no qualification whatsoever for United Nations membership from the outset, but their application was turned down at the door-step of the Security Council, without so much as being placed on its agenda.

This clearly proves that the machinations of the United States and the south Korean authorities to perpetuate the division of Korea will be unable to escape ignominious defeats at every step.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea strongly demands that the United Nations General Assembly this year must administer due blows at the machination of the United States to continue their aggression against Korea and intervention in her internal affairs and take positive measures to create favourable conditions for converting the Armistice into a durable peace in Korea and achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

The struggle of the Korean people to compel the United States troops under the sign-board of the "United Nations forces" to withdraw from south Korea and achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of their country enjoys an ever-increasing international support as an important part of the anti-imperialist struggle of the world people.

The Korean people will surely smash all sorts of machinations of the splittists at home and abroad and accomplish the independent and peaceful reunification of their country with the active support and encouragement of all the peace-loving countries and peoples of the world.

Pyongyang, 11 August 1975

# **MEMORANDUM OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA IN CONNEXION WITH THE DEBATE ON THE KOREAN QUESTION AT THE THIRTIETH SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

- I. On the draft resolution of the creation of favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea**
- II. On the "draft resolution" of the United States side**

Two opposite draft resolutions have been submitted to the thirtieth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations in connexion with the debate on the Korean question.

One of them is a draft resolution submitted by a number of United Nations Member States which actively support the Korean people's cause of national reunification, together with an agenda item titled "Creation of favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea" and the other is a draft "resolution" tabled by the United States and its followers.

The draft resolution put forward by the countries supporting the Korean people's cause of national reunification is aimed to give practical help in removing tension and guaranteeing a durable peace in Korea and realizing the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, while the United States side's draft "resolution" is designed to maintain tension in Korea and perpetuate the occupation of south Korea by the United States troops and the division of Korea.

These opposite stands as regards the solution of the Korean question find vivid expression in the detailed contents of the draft resolutions submitted to the United Nations.

**I. On the draft resolution of the creation of favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea**

The operative paragraphs of this draft resolution are as follows:

The General Assembly,

(1) Considers that it is necessary to dissolve the "United Nations Command" and withdraw all the foreign troops stationed in south Korea under the flag of the United Nations;

(2) Calls upon the real parties to the Armistice Agreement to replace the Korean Military Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement as a measure to ease tension and maintain and consolidate peace in Korea in the context of the dissolution of the "United Nations Command" and the withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed in south Korea under the flag of the United Nations;

(3) Urges the north and the south of Korea to observe the principles of the North-South Joint Statement and take practical measures for ceasing arms reinforcement, reducing the armed forces of both sides drastically to an equal level, preventing armed conflicts and guaranteeing against the use of force against the other side, and thereby remove the military confrontation and maintain a durable peace in Korea, conducive to accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

If the paragraphs mentioned in this draft resolution are put into practice, it will make a practical contribution to the removal of tension and guarantee of a durable peace in Korea and the achievement of the independent and peaceful reunification of the country by the Korean people on the principles of the North-South Joint Statement.

(a) To dissolve the "United Nations Command" and withdraw all the foreign troops stationed in south Korea under the flag of the United Nations is a prerequisite to the realization of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

No outside forces are allowed to interfere in the question of reunification of Korea, an internal national affair of the Korean people.

The occupation of south Korea by the United States troops



wearing the mask of the "U.N. forces" and the United States' acts of aggression and interference against Korea are the root cause of the increasing tension in Korea and the basic obstacle to the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

— The United States is stepping up war preparations in Korea, instigating the south Korean authorities to ceaseless war clamours, deliberately inciting north-south confrontation and aggravating tension in Korea.

- The United States keeps bringing illegally into south Korea modern weapons and military equipment including various kinds of atomic weapons and guided missiles.

It is widely known that the United States has shipped into south Korea "Honest John" rockets, 280 mm atomic guns, "Matador", "Nike Hercules", "Hawk" and "Lacross" guided missiles.

According to an announcement of United States military experts on 17 January 1975, there have been deployed in south Korea 150 nuclear mines (a.d.m.r.d.p.), 210 nuclear shells and field-guns capable of firing them, two launchers for Sergeant ground-to-ground missiles, six Sergeant ground nuclear missiles, four launchers for Lance ground-to-ground missiles, 12 Lance ground-to-ground nuclear missiles, 144 launchers for Nike Hercules ground-to-air missiles, and nuclear warhead missiles at the ratio of one to each launcher.

There are also 54 F-4 Phantom fighter-bombers capable of carrying a nuclear warhead of 100 kilotons to 1 megaton or four nuclear missiles. (Washington, 18 January 1975, Japanese press "Jiji").

Director Laroque of the United States Defence Information Centre said on 20 June 1975, that "the nuclear warheads deployed in south Korea are applicable to missiles, guns, mines, etc." and "many of them are deployed near the Military Demarcation Line bordering on north Korea" (Washington, 20 June 1975, Japanese press "Jiji").

- After its serious defeat in Indo-China, the United States, in an attempt to keep hold on south Korea indefinitely, proclaimed it a "frontline defence area" and is openly threatening the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, wielding nuclear weapons.

The ruling circles of the United States are becoming louder in blaring that they would use nuclear arms in Korea.

Answering a question of reporters about the use of nuclear weapons in Korea on 25 June 1975, United States President Ford said: "We have a strong deterrent force both strategically

and tactically. This deterrent force will be used flexibly in the interests of our country." (Washington, 25 June 1975, Japanese press "Jiji").

At a press conference on 20 June, United States Secretary of Defence Schlesinger said "I think you may also know well that the United States has deployed its tactical nuclear weapons in south Korea," openly prattling that it would not hesitate to use nuclear weapons in Korea. (Washington, 20 June 1975, Japanese press "Jiji").

- The United States ceaselessly conducts nuclear attack exercises against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The United States and south Korean armies frequently stage clamorous war exercises in launching "tactical nuclear weapons" everywhere in south Korea and uninterruptedly perpetrate acts of war provocations, staging missile launching exercises even in the vicinity of the demilitarized zone.

The United States brought rocket-launching pads capable of launching nuclear warheads to a place just 4.5 km off the demilitarized zone in the central sector of the front to conduct missile launching exercises all the year round. And it stages "tactical nuclear weapon launching exercise" by setting in motion the artillery units of United States and south Korean armies stationed north of Seoul. (New York, 23 June 1975, south Korean news agency "Hapdong").

Meanwhile, an Okinawa-based unit of the United States forces for nuclear attack from the air frequents south Korea to carry out nuclear attack exercises and, with the participation of the units belonging to the United States third marine division and the "U.S. and south Korean ground forces, U.S. air force and the south Korean marine corps," large-scale military exercises such as "operation golden dragon," "operation capstan dragon," and so on are conducted without interruption.

- The United States has even mapped out a so-called "9-day operational plan" designed to invade the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

James Hollings Weed, "Commander of the first U.S.-ROK joint corps" declared that they would complete aggression on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea by a "new, short-term strategy" within "nine days" (Washington, 17 June 1975, south Korean news agency "Hapdong").

— The United States is further reinforcing its troops occupying south Korea and the south Korean army.

On 26 July 1975, a spokesman of the United States Department of Defence said that "the U.S. air force in south Korea

has been strengthened to the maximum since 1974 and its firepower has also increased".

He stated that "the U.S. air force units in Kunsan and Masan bases, which had 15 aircraft for each squadron on an average during the Indo-China war, have been strengthened up to the regular level of 18 to 20 aircraft per squadron, some of which have been expanded even with Phantoms." (Washington, 26 July 1975, south Korean news agency "Tong-yang").

— The cases of violation of the Armistice Agreement by the United States side, including various armed provocations against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, since the signing of the Armistice Agreement up to 26 July 1975 ran to a stupendous 172,500 or more.

The war provocation manoeuvres of the United States have created a dangerous situation in which a war may break out any moment in Korea.

Under this situation, neither a durable peace can be ensured in Korea nor can the independent and peaceful reunification of the country be realized, as long as the United States troops in the helmets of the "United Nations forces" are kept in south Korea.

To let the Korean people solve the question of the country's reunification independently and peacefully in the spirit of the North-South Joint Statement and on the principle of national self-determination, it is necessary, above anything else, to compel the United States troops to withdraw from south Korea.

— The United States troops, by nature, have no reason or ground whatsoever to stay on in south Korea.

• The continued occupation of south Korea by the United States troops is an act of aggression flagrantly violating the Charter of the United Nations on respect for sovereignty and non-interference in other's internal affairs and the publicly recognized principles of the international law.

• The occupation of south Korea by the United States troops runs counter to the North-South Joint Statement and the decision of the twenty-eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly which supported and welcomed the Joint Statement.

The North-South Joint Statement published on 4 July 1972 stipulates as one of the three principles of national reunification: "Firstly, reunification should be achieved independently, without relying upon outside force or being subject to its interference".

And the twenty-eighth session of the United Nations Gene-

ral Assembly welcomed the three principles of national reunification laid down in the North-South Joint Statement and, hoping that the north and the south of Korea would continue their dialogue in the spirit of the North-South Joint Statement, took a step to dissolve the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea".

- The occupation of south Korea by the United States troops runs counter to the Korean Armistice Agreement which envisages the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea.

Paragraph 60, article 4, of the Korean Armistice Agreement signed on 27 July 1953, reads: "In order to insure the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, the military commanders of both sides hereby recommend to the governments of the countries concerned on both sides that, within three (3) months after the armistice agreement is signed and becomes effective, a political conference of a higher level of both sides be held by representatives appointed respectively to settle through negotiation the questions of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea, the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, etc."

But the political conference could not be convened owing to the sabotage of the United States.

For creating favourable conditions for the promotion of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, all the Chinese People's Volunteers withdrew, on their own initiative, from the northern half of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in 1958.

The United States troops have no pretext whatsoever to remain in south Korea.

- The occupation of south Korea by the United States troops runs counter entirely to the common desire and aspiration of the non-aligned countries and all the peace-loving people of the world.

The "resolution on the problem of Korea" adopted at the Fourth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries held in Algeria in 1973 declared that it "calls for the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in south Korea and an end to all forms of foreign interference in the domestic affairs of Korea".

This is the very reflection of the requirements of the present times in which the world people strongly demand the withdrawal of the United States troops from south Korea.

- (b) To replace the Korean Military Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement in the context of the dissolution of the "United Nations Command" and the withdrawal of all foreign

troops from south Korea is an urgent matter for creating favourable pre-conditions for removing tension and guaranteeing a durable peace in Korea and accomplishing the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

— It is impossible to remove tension and guarantee a durable peace with the state of armistice kept in Korea as it is.

The Armistice Agreement, by origin, is no more than a temporary cease-fire agreement in any case; it can neither terminate the state of war nor guarantee a durable peace.

Today in Korea there is only an armistice agreement, a step of cease-fire taken by two belligerent parties, and no peace agreement has yet been signed.

As a result, an unstable state of cease-fire has persisted for the last 22 years in Korea and the armistice has not yet been converted into a durable peace.

Therefore, the real parties to the Korean Armistice Agreement must take a measure to put an end to such state of cease-fire at the earliest possible date and guarantee a durable peace.

— It stands out with greater urgency to replace the Korean Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement under the present situation in which the Armistice Agreement cannot perform its original function owing to the constant sabotage of the Armistice Agreement on the part of the United States side.

The United States ceaselessly violated the article on cease-fire, which is the key point of the Armistice Agreement. Furthermore, in order to step up war preparations in south Korea, it unwarrantably suspended in June 1956 the activities of the Neutral Nations Inspection Teams stipulated in the Armistice Agreement and, in June 1957, unilaterally abrogated subparagraph 13-d of the Armistice Agreement banning the introduction of all kinds of weapons and combat materials into the Korean territory, an important provision of the Armistice Agreement.

The United States is increasing the danger of armed conflicts and of reopening of the war in Korea by incessantly and wantonly violating the Armistice Agreement.

— Replacing the Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement fully conforms with the requirements of the Armistice Agreement as well.

The Korean Armistice Agreement stipulates the convocation of a political conference of higher level within three months after the signing of the Armistice Agreement to discuss the questions of withdrawal of all the foreign troops from Korea and the peaceful settlement of the Korean question.

This peace agreement should be signed between the Demo-

eratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States, the real parties to the Armistice Agreement.

The Armistice Agreement, by origin, was signed by the Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army and the Commander of the Chinese People's Volunteers on the one hand and the "United Nations Commander" on the other.

The Chinese People's Volunteers have already withdrawn totally from Korea. The so-called "United Nations forces" present in south Korea now are, in fact, United States troops.

Therefore, the real parties to the Armistice Agreement are the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States.

— The Democratic People's Republic of Korea already long ago suggested to replace the Korean Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement and on 25 March 1974 the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea proposed to the United States to hold talks to solve the question of concluding a peace agreement.

We proposed to include the following points in a peace agreement to be concluded between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States:

Firstly, both sides shall pledge to each other not to invade the other side and shall remove all dangers of direct armed conflicts.

The United States shall be bound in duty not to incite the south Korean authorities to the war provocation manoeuvres and fascist repression of the south Korean people or patronize them, not to hinder the north and south of Korea from reunifying the country independently and peacefully in accordance with the North-South Joint Statement, but to totally desist from meddling in the internal affairs of Korea.

Secondly, both sides shall discontinue the reinforcement of armed force and arms drive and stop introducing all weapons, combat equipment and war supplies into Korea.

Thirdly, the foreign troops in south Korea shall strip themselves of the "United Nations forces" helmets and all of them withdraw at the earliest possible date, taking all the weapons along.

Fourthly, Korea shall not be reduced to a military or operational base for any foreign country after the withdrawal of all the foreign troops from south Korea.

If the United States had harboured no aggressive ambition on Korea and had been truly interested in guaranteeing peace in this region, it should have responded to the proposal

of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to conclude a peace agreement.

However, the United States has not responded to our proposal, calling it "propaganda".

The proposal of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to conclude a peace agreement points to the fundamental way of relaxing tension and maintaining a durable peace in Korea.

This peaceful initiative conforms with the desire of all the peace-loving peoples of the world and won their warm welcome and support.

(c) It constitutes an important guarantee for ensuring a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea that the north and the south of Korea observe the principles of the North-South Joint Statement and take a practical measure to remove the military confrontation.

If the Armistice Agreement is replaced with a peace agreement and the intervention of outside forces is removed in Korea, the north and the south of Korea will be able to solve excellently the domestic affairs of the nation through peaceful negotiations.

— The North-South Joint Statement clearly indicates the following three principles to be adhered to in solving the question of Korea's reunification:

Firstly, reunification should be achieved independently, without relying upon outside force or being subject to its interference.

Secondly, the reunification should be realized peacefully without recourse to the use of armed force against the other side.

Thirdly, great national unity should be promoted as one nation above anything else, transcending the differences of ideology, ideals and systems.

In the North-South Joint Statement it was also "agreed to refrain from committing armed provocations, big or small, and to take active measures for preventing unexpected military conflicts".

Therefore, to observe the Joint North-South Statement is a reliable guarantee for ensuring a durable peace in Korea and promoting the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

— After a peace agreement is concluded, all the foreign troops withdrawn and interferences by the outside forces terminated, the north and the south of Korea will be able to take

practical steps to discontinue arms reinforcement, reduce their respective armed forces drastically to an equal level, prevent armed conflicts and guarantee against the use of armed force against the other side, as a measure to ease tension and remove the state of military confrontation.

Such steps will make a practical contribution not only to firmly ensuring peace in Korea but also to dispelling misunderstanding and distrust and deepening mutual understanding and trust between the north and the south, creating an atmosphere of great national unity and promoting the reunification of the country.

Under the present condition where the huge armed forces of the north and the south are standing face to face with each other with the Military Demarcation Line between them, it is impossible to remove the danger of war or remove the root cause of misunderstanding and distrust between the north and the south.

Only when decisive measures are taken to eliminate military confrontation and relax the tension between the north and the south of Korea is it possible to remove misunderstanding and distrust and create an atmosphere of mutual trust and unity, successfully advance the dialogue between the north and the south and remove the obstacles in the way of reunification.

In the course of the north-south dialogue we repeatedly proposed to the south Korean authorities to realize the five-point proposal—to cease armament reinforcement and arms race between the north and the south; to make the United States army withdraw from south Korea; to reduce the armed forces in the north and the south to 100,000 men or less respectively and drastically cut their armaments; to stop the introduction of all weapons, combat equipment and war material from abroad; and to guarantee against the use of armed forces against the other side.

If this proposal is realized, the tension between the north and the south will be rapidly removed, a decisive phase will be opened in improving the north-south relations and a great stride forward will be made in consolidating peace in Korea and achieving her independent and peaceful reunification.

And it will make it possible to relieve the people of the burden of military expenditure, send many young and middle-aged people back home and direct more manpower and material resources to the construction of the national economy and the improvement of the people's living.

These steps will enjoy the full support and welcome of the



peace-loving peoples of the whole world, not to speak of the entire Korean people in the north and the south.

## II. On the "draft resolution" of the United States side

In the "draft resolution" the United States side proposed to dissolve the "United Nations Command" provided that the parties directly concerned in the Armistice Agreement "agree that they will regard all provisions of the Armistice Agreement as continuing in force" and, in this context, to let the officers of the United States and south Korean armies ensure the enforcement of the Armistice Agreement in place of the "commander-in-chief of the United Nations Command".

This pursues only the aim to hoodwink world public opinion under the specious name of maintaining the Armistice Agreement continuously in Korea and justify the continued occupation of south Korea by the United States troops with the name of the United Nations, create "two Koreas" and perpetuate the division of Korea.

(1) When it has become an increasingly irresistible demand of the times that the United States troops be withdrawn from south Korea, the United States, in an attempt to check this trend, pretended in the "draft resolution" to have the readiness to dissolve the "United Nations Command".

But, in fact, it reveals in all nakedness its intention not only to refuse to dissolve even the "United Nations Command", but also to keep the United States troops in south Korea indefinitely.

— In the "draft resolution", the United States does not make even a mention of the withdrawal of the foreign troops stationed in south Korea under the flag of the United Nations.

This proves that it wants to occupy south Korea indefinitely.

This is also proved by the fact that it is now openly ranting that even if the "United Nations Command" is dissolved, the United States troops will remain as ever in south Korea under the so-called "ROK-U.S. mutual defence pact".

If the "United Nations Command" is dissolved, it is natural and reasonable that the United States troops stationed in south Korea under the cloak of the "United Nations forces" should also withdraw. In spite of this, the United States intends to keep its troops in south Korea. This is because it harbours aggressive ambitions.

As for the so-called "ROK-U.S. mutual defence pact", it was cooked up by the United States with the south Korean authorities in violation of paragraph 60, article 4, of the Armistice Agreement which envisages the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea after the armistice: it is an aggressive and unlawful document which none of the Korean people recognize.

Today when it is impossible to legalize the occupation of south Korea by the United States troops even with the name of the "United Nations forces", it is all the more impossible to legalize it with something like "pact".

— The United States proposes in its "draft resolution" to replace its signatory to the Armistice Agreement — "the commander-in-chief of the United Nations Command" — with the officers of the United States army and the south Korean army, calling it an "alternative arrangement to maintain the Armistice Agreement". This is designed to legalize officially the permanent occupation of south Korea by the United States troops.

If the "United Nations Command", a signatory to the Korean Armistice Agreement, is dissolved, the Armistice Agreement, too, will have no alternative but to cease its existence.

Accordingly, it is out of the question from the outset to change only the signatory to the Armistice Agreement while keeping it as it is, though it may be another matter to replace the Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement.

Moreover, since the south Korean authorities are not a signer of the Armistice Agreement and have consistently opposed the Armistice Agreement itself, they cannot become a signatory to the Armistice Agreement.

And under the conditions in which the United States army remains in south Korea, seizing all the real power, it is meaningless to make the south Korean authorities a signatory to the Armistice Agreement.

(2) In its "draft resolution", the United States pretended that it was willing to dissolve the "United Nations Command". But attaching some "conditions" to it the United States, in fact, does not want to dissolve even the "United Nations Command".

The United States has even set the deadline of 1 January 1976, to make it appear as if it was willing to dissolve the "United Nations Command", but this is a mere trick to mislead the world public opinion. Its real intention is to prevent the dissolution of the "United Nations Command" by dragging on the time, on the plea of "discussion between the direct parties concerned", "the alternative arrangement to maintain the Armistice Agreement" and so forth.

(3) Under the specious name of maintaining the Armistice Agreement the United States is trying to fix the unstable state of armistice in Korea and justify the perpetuation of the division into "two Koreas" with the name of the United Nations.

More than 20 years have already elapsed since the conclusion of the Armistice Agreement in Korea.

Maintenance of the state of armistice for such a long period itself is a violation of the basic spirit of the Armistice Agreement and it is extremely abnormal.

How long is the United States going to keep this unstable state of armistice?

If the United States is really interested in maintaining and consolidating peace in Korea and hopes for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, it should not commit such acts as rejecting a peace agreement and freezing the state of cease-fire indefinitely.

The "draft resolution" of the United States side is, to all intents and purposes, a deceptive document which runs diametrically counter to the desire of the Korean people and the world peace-loving people for the establishment of the structure of durable peace in Korea and the realization of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea and which conflicts totally with the decision of the twenty-eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly on the Korean question.

The two opposite draft resolutions submitted to the thirtieth session of the United Nations General Assembly in connexion with the discussion of the Korean question clearly show who are really endeavouring for peace in Korea and her peaceful reunification and who are obstructing the reunification of Korea and aggravating the tension in Korea.

Convinced that the draft resolution submitted for the creation of favourable conditions for accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea will enjoy active support from the Governments and peoples of all the peace-loving countries the world over, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea hopes that the United Nations General Assembly this year will adopt this draft resolution and thus make a contribution to firmly guaranteeing peace in Korea and accelerating her independent and peaceful reunification.

Pyongyang, 17 August 1975

## **STATEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA**

On 29 October, the First Committee of the thirtieth session of the United Nations General Assembly passed, with the approval of overwhelming majority of those States Members of the United Nations which took part in the voting, the draft resolution co-sponsored by 43 Member States reflecting the just policy of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for national reunification, repulsing all kinds of obstructive manoeuvres of the United States and the South Korean authorities.

This is a great turning-point in the history of the United Nations as an epochal event which broke down the old pattern in the United Nations in which the United States would rig up illegal "resolutions" on the Korean question at will annually during the past 30 years by setting its hand-raising machine in motion, and adopted a fair decision on the Korean question for the first time: and it is a reflection of the trend of the present times that all countries and nations are advancing along the road of sovereignty and independence and a brilliant fruition of the staunch struggle of the peace-loving peoples the world over.

The voting result in the First Committee of the thirtieth session of the United Nations General Assembly is a great victory of the policy of the independent, peaceful reunification of the country and the Juche-based foreign policy invariably maintained by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and a common victory of the progressive countries and peoples of the world who always render active support and encouragement to the just cause of the Korean people for national reunification.

This is also a telling blow at the United States and its stooges who are trying to perpetuate the occupation of South Korea by the United States troops and freeze the division of Korea by fabricating "two Koreas".

In connexion with the passage of the draft resolution on

the creation of favourable conditions for converting the Armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea expresses its profound thanks to the Governments and peoples of all countries which conducted a positive struggle as co-sponsor States of that draft resolution and which voted for that resolution.

The draft resolution on the Korean question co-sponsored by the 43 States Members of the United Nations and adopted this time calls for the dissolution of the "United Nations Command" and the withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations, the replacement of the Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement and the adoption of practical measures for easing the tension between the North and the South of Korea and guaranteeing a durable peace.

This draft resolution correctly reflects the unanimous aspiration and desire of the Korean people and the world peace-loving people, the present situation created in Korea and the demand of the times and clearly indicates the fundamental means and ways of a practical solution to the question of the reunification of Korea.

To translate this draft resolution into practice will be greatly conducive to the final solution of the Korean question and the preservation and consolidation of peace in Asia and the world.

The United States must, first of all, dissolve the "United Nations Command" at once and withdraw without delay all its troops occupying South Korea under the signboard of the "United Nations forces", as demanded by this draft resolution.

Now that the United Nations has adopted a decision on the withdrawal of all the foreign troops from South Korea, the United States finds it more impossible to escape from its obligation to implement it since it has so far said that it keeps its troops in South Korea under the "resolution" of the United Nations.

With no amount of pretexts and pleas can the United States and the South Korean authorities justify the occupation of South Korea by the United States troops.

If the United States refuses even now to withdraw its troops from South Korea, it will expose its aggressive nature more fully before the whole world.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is ready to conclude a peace agreement with the United

States at any time on the condition that all the foreign troops are withdrawn from South Korea.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has already repeatedly declared its intention to conclude a peace agreement.

Even the United Nations decision adopted this time has confirmed that the only correct way of converting the Armistice into a durable peace in Korea is to replace the Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement.

Whether the United States agrees to conclude a peace agreement or not will be a criterion testing whether it truly desires the maintenance and consolidation of peace in Korea or not.

The world will watch with sharp eyes how the United States will approach all these problems.

If a peace agreement is concluded under the conditions that the foreign troops are withdrawn from South Korea, a wide road will be opened for the North and the South of Korea to remove the tension and solve the question of the country's reunification independently by the Koreans themselves and peacefully.

Today it is an urgent requirement of the development of the present times that all the foreign troops must withdraw from South Korea, a peace agreement be concluded to replace the Armistice Agreement and the question of Korean reunification be settled by the Korean people themselves without any interference of outside forces.

Since the draft resolution co-sponsored by 43 countries which comprehensively indicates the means and ways of solving the question of Korean reunification has been passed, the so-called "draft resolution" of the Western side submitted by the United States and its followers has become meaningless and useless. The anachronistic delusion of the United States to fabricate "two Koreas" and continuously justify the permanent occupation of South Korea by the United States Army with the name of the United Nations has been smashed into smithereens.

The course of the discussion of the Korean question in the First Committee of the current General Assembly shows all the more glaringly that the time is gone never to return when the United States could rule the roost in the United Nations, invade other countries at will and interfere in their domestic affairs.

Our present era is an era of independence and a new his-

toric era in which hundreds of millions of formerly oppressed and maltreated peoples have emerged on the stage of history as its master and are marching vigorously along the road of independence against all forms of subjugation and inequality.

The United States must look straight at the reality and act discreetly.

If the United States and its stooges go against the trend of the times and try to resist it, they will be unable to escape a more stern punishment of history.

The struggle of the Korean people for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country is enjoying ever-growing, powerful support and encouragement of the world's people each day.

Encouraged all the more by the triumphant achievements at the United Nations this time, the entire people in North and South Korea will fight more staunchly to get the United States troops withdrawn from South Korea and accomplish the historic cause of national reunification.

The struggle of the Korean people for national reunification commanding the active support and encouragement of the peoples of socialist countries, the peoples of the third world countries as well as the peace-loving peoples all over the world is bound to win the final victory.

Pyongyang, 31 October 1975

## **THE RESOLUTION ON THE QUESTION OF KOREA ADOPTED AT THE THIRTIETH SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS**

(Resolution 3390 B (XXX), November 18, 1975)

The thirtieth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations discussed the question of Korea entitled "Creation of favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea", and adopted a resolution. It reads as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Noting that the reunification of Korea has not yet been achieved although thirty years have elapsed since Korea was divided into the North and the South and twenty-two years since the establishment of the armistice in Korea,

"Recalling the obligations assumed by States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations on respect for the principle of equality and self-determination of peoples and on refraining from intervening in matters which are within the domestic jurisdiction of any State,

"Considering that it conforms with the principles of the Charter to encourage the Korean people to achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of their country at the earliest possible date on the basis of the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity and to create favourable conditions for it,

"Hoping that the North and the South of Korea will promote their dialogue to accelerate the reunification of the country in accordance with the spirit of the joint statement of 4 July 1972 and with the decision adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session on 28 November 1973, which welcomed the joint statement,

"Considering that a durable peace cannot be expected so long as the present state of armistice is kept as it is in Korea,



"Considering that, in order to guarantee a durable peace in Korea and accelerate its independent and peaceful reunification, it is urgently necessary to take new decisive measures for terminating foreign interference in its internal affairs, removing tension and preventing armed conflicts in that region,

"1. Considers that it is necessary to dissolve the 'United Nations Command' and withdraw all the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations;

"2. Calls upon the real parties to the Armistice Agreement to replace the Korean Military Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement as a measure to ease tension and maintain and consolidate peace in Korea in the context of the dissolution of the 'United Nations Command' and the withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations;

"3. Urges the North and the South of Korea to observe the principles of the North-South joint statement and take practical measures for ceasing arms reinforcement, reducing the armed forces of both sides drastically to an equal level, preventing armed conflicts and guaranteeing against the use of force against the other side, and thereby remove the military confrontation and maintain a durable peace in Korea, conducive to accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of the country."



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